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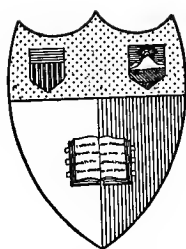
THE RELATION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO EDUCATION

INSTALLATION OF DAVID KINLEY
AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

DECEMBER 1 AND 2, 1921



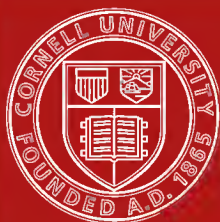
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PRESIDENT DAVID KINLEY

PROCEEDINGS
OF A CONFERENCE ON
**THE RELATION OF THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT TO EDUCATION**

INSTALLATION OF DAVID KINLEY
AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

DECEMBER 1 AND 2, 1921



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EARLY EFFECTS OF CONGRESSIONAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR EDUCATION

By EUGENE DAVENPORT, *Dean of the College of Agriculture
and Vice-President of the University of Illinois*



THE passage by Congress of the so-called Morrill or Land Grant Act in 1862 was probably the most significant single action ever taken affecting the educational policy of a people. It was also the most prolific in developing a series of fundamental issues as to the very philosophy of education. Because we now have in every state of the Union at least one land grant college or university; because many, if not most, of our modern issues in education have developed either directly or indirectly out of this original land grant legislation; and because our problems are not yet fully solved, it is well that we meet in conference from time to time to compare ideas in order always that the next step may be intelligently taken. It is my purpose by way of introduction to call attention to some at least of the direct and indirect results growing out of this legislation, the full significance of which can hardly be appreciated except by those who have been for forty years or so intimately connected with the development of this new form of educational effort.

Whoever reads the Morrill Act at all critically will be struck by the following facts:

1. About sixty years ago a new kind of education was provided to serve what Professor Turner called the 95 percent, or the industrial element of society, as distinct from the five percent representing the so-called learned professions.
2. This new kind of education was to be of collegiate grade in sharp contrast to the old apprentice system or even of what later came to be known as the trade school.
3. There was to be at least one of the new colleges in every state of the Union and to that extent the system was nationalized from the beginning.
4. For the support of this college Congress donated to each state public lands not equally but in proportion to its population.
5. The college was to be operated by the state, which was to provide, free of expense, the necessary lands and buildings. It was to this extent a local enterprise.
6. In case the land grant should be found insufficient for the support of the college, it was left inferentially to take care of itself as best it could. To this extent the individual college ac-

cepted the chances of starving between two perfectly good sources of support. It seemed to be assumed from the first that these colleges were not to be recipients of private gifts, though nothing in the law forbade it.

In practice, it has been the state that has provided the bulk of the means for carrying out the original plan, and the modern land grant university is ninety percent or more a state institution, at least when considered from the standpoint of support.

7. These new colleges were obliged to teach military science and tactics, the only provision added by Congress to the original plan as prepared by the friends of the bill. To this extent the new system of education was distinctly Federal.

8. The course of instruction was not prescribed beyond the single detail of the military but it was stipulated that emphasis should be laid upon those subjects that bear directly upon agriculture and the mechanic arts, tho scientific and classical studies were not to be excluded. Within these bounds the institution was autonomous as to its academic policies.

All these features of the Morrill Act were substantially new in the field of education, most of them entirely so. It is true that education of collegiate grade at public expense had been provided in some of the newer states, notably Michigan (1837) and Wisconsin (1848), yet the latter institution, founded in the name of the state with no endowment other than four townships of public land donated by the government, received nothing from the treasury of Wisconsin until 1870, or twenty-two years after its opening. No wonder it almost suspended during the Civil War.

The only agricultural college in America at the time of the passage of the Morrill Act was that of Michigan, founded under the constitution of the state in 1857, and its first graduating class had gone to the war a year before the Land Grant Act passed Congress.

The Sheffield Scientific School of Applied Chemistry was opened in 1847, but Dr. Samuel Johnson did not begin his lectures in agricultural chemistry until the year in which the Michigan Agricultural College was opened. These two, one in the West and one in the East, were the only institutions of learning in America which, at that time, even remotely touched agriculture.

The great subject of mechanic arts was not represented in the Michigan Agricultural College or in any other institution of collegiate grade, for the Massachusetts Institute of Technology was not established until 1865 so that the Morrill Act was the first attempt to provide collegiate instruction in the field of knowledge which has since developed into engineering.

Here then in this Federal legislation founding a comprehensive system of industrial education was something essentially new, if not indeed revolutionary. It was new in the materials of education, new in methods, new in objectives, new in relationships. How new and revolutionary it really was did not at first become evident. It appeared only as the new plan proceeded to feel its way along in its development, for it had few precedents, few disciples, and no established criteria.

But time passed. Failures and disappointments were overcome by new devices, and by and by there began to appear the effects of this unique bit of legislation, and its influence began to be felt not only in the material world about us but in every relation of society, including the very material, methods, and purposes of education as we are coming now to understand the term.

It is the present purpose to provide something of a background for our discussion by retracing rapidly some of the direct and indirect results of this Land Grant Act, as they have influenced educational development and as they bear upon our present day problems. I shall do this briefly under a few specific headings, which while they do not exhaust the field yet fairly represent the principal features.

First of all, this new adventure in education invoked the special aid of science and in that way it became at once the chief patron and advocate of this new field of knowledge. In this connection it must be remembered that at the time of the passage of the Morrill Act what was then called science had not obtained a respectable foothold in the world of education which was brought up and trained in the atmosphere of the classics.

And this was not unnatural, for as yet even chemistry, the foremost of all the sciences in its development, had hardly made a beginning. A dozen years after the signing of the Morrill Act, there were yet six so-called incondensable gases, and only about sixty elements had been discovered.

Darwin's "Origin of Species" was but just off the press and had hardly begun to invoke the anathemas of the clergy. Many still believed in spontaneous generation and proved it to their own entire satisfaction.

Our own Doctor Burrill of blessed memory told me once that when he was a young man studying botany, Harvard was the only place in America where the subject was really taught, and even there the course was not as good as that now to be found in almost any of our modern high schools.

Electricity had been harnessed to the telegraph wire but was deliberately adjudged at this time by one of our foremost scientists as entirely useless for anything further than telegraphy.

The record in the rocks had not then become generally known, and the religious world was yet to contract its congestive chill over Winchell's "Pre-Adamites."

It was seven years after the passage of the Land Grant Act when the educational world was first shocked into a kind of paralysis and then aroused into almost a religious frenzy because a professor of chemistry had been elected President of Harvard University. It was then and for years after that the Michigan Agricultural College operated next to Harvard the largest chemical laboratory and was the foremost exponent of science in the western world.

We talked a great deal about the new education in those early days, but as late as the seventies what we really meant was science rather than agriculture.

The contest as to whether agriculture was or was not a subject capable of affording the materials for education came much later. For a generation the classics fought tooth and nail the pretensions of what is now called pure science, and a good part of the issues were raised by the activities growing out of the Land Grant Act, which vitalized science by showing it at work and therefore hastened the day of reckoning between the new and the old in education.

One of the first and most bitter issues raised by the Land Grant Act was the objective towards which the new system was to be directed. Aiming as it did at the benefit of the industrial classes, it not only concerned the ninety-five percent directly, but it raised questions of equal import to the members of that small minority occupying the position known as the learned professions.

Ignoring the fact that nothing is more professional than a course in medicine, law, or even theology, for that matter, the teachers of the times immediately began to exalt culture as the great object in education. They had been in the habit of exhorting the children in the primary schools to get their lessons well that they might not in later years be obliged to work.

It is impossible in these days to realize the full extent of the excitement aroused during the period of this discussion. We were about to educate the laboring people, after which manifestly they would no longer work. If civilization were to stand, there must be "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Unless the masses should be willing to labor, there could be no leisure class and therefore no culture, and it was assumed that people would not work with the hands if by any possibility labor could be avoided. At the best, farmers and artisans might be "trained" but they could not be readily educated.

The generation of discussion and of experimental activity, whereby something besides culture became the prime objective in education is now an interesting but, let the gods be thanked, a closed chapter in our educational history. Even so, we may as well recognize the fact that we owe to the Land Grant Act as to nothing else the impelling and the compelling influences that broke down what was virtually the beginnings of a caste system in this country, whereby a form of education, originated for the training of the governing class, was rapidly becoming, under the head of culture, the *pièce de résistance* of a privileged class; a class constituting nothing short of an aristocracy of learning—a kind of close corporation for holding the world's stock of knowledge.

It was during this long discussion that science won its way into the college curriculum until it was able to stand side by side with the classics, not only in its teachableness but in its value to civilized society. During all these days the two first, and for many years the only, active agricultural colleges, Michigan and Massachusetts, were generally accredited with good intentions but with harboring educational heresies of the most dangerous character. And it was they that bore the brunt of the early intense and sometimes acrimonious discussions wherein many a scholar honestly believed that the good temple of learning was being undermined at its very foundation and that its pillars were already toppling.

It so happened that neither the Michigan nor the Massachusetts Agricultural College paid the slightest attention to mechanical arts, so the discussion centered about science and agriculture. After a time under the provision of the Morrill Act a considerable number of agricultural and mechanical colleges were established in other states, whereupon engineering as we now understand the term began rapidly to develop, and it must be confessed that engineering succeeded better than agriculture had done. Whether it was from the inertia of what had gone before or whether from the better adaptability of shop practice to the forms of educational procedure, it is difficult to determine. In any event, it was engineering that first achieved distinctive success in developing an industry into a profession. It now became clearly apparent that this new education aimed at material welfare and at the development of the activities of civilization as well as the culture of the individual citizen.

This was a new idea in the world, at least a new ideal in education, and it immediately brought the charge of commercialism and the prostitution of the Goddess of Education by pulling her down from her pedestal and setting her at work to earn her living. Here again was one of the most bitterly fought issues

arising out of the new system of education. It was for a decade the cause of battle between the old school and the new. Looking back upon the carnage from these later days of comparative peace that have happily followed, and thru the eyes of moderation, it is perhaps fair to say that both sides were at fault, each flying to its own extreme. As the men of the classics decried commercialism, utilitarianism, and the prostitution of education, the men of the new school worshipped the practical, the things that could be made to pay as measured by dollars and cents. Only slowly did each begin to realize that he possessed but a portion of the vision of what education ought to do and could do for a civilized race and that humanity needed them both.

This lesson was not learned until institutions of university rather than of the college point of view began to function along the lines of the Morrill Act. Then it was that slowly but surely the classicist began to speak more respectfully of the development of science, and even of agriculture and of engineering. The agriculturist and the mechanic began to see that we must have philosophers as well as high class producers, and both began to realize that we are living together in a vast complex; that we belong to one society in which the interests of the whole are vastly superior to the interests of any one class, so that the building up of differences and the emphasizing of peculiarities is not only dangerous but profitless.

In this way it is that in the very locking of horns between the representatives of the five percent and the champions of the ninety-five, we have at last settled down together with the object of solving the problems of our individual and class interests in the light of our mutual welfare. All talk of commercializing education has happily vanished and we no longer observe the spectacle of educators decrying the utility side of education while they themselves are earning their living by means of their learning, just as farmers do by means of their plows. With this new understanding we have largely lost the old distinctions between the professional and the non-professional purposes in education, between the industrial and the cultural,—distinctions that we are well rid of, as they tend in all of this to obscure rather than to elucidate the problems that lie before us.

One result of these discussions and of the clearer views that developed out of the relations between the old education and the new was the fact that education is no longer to be considered primarily as an individual possession. The old time colleges had been organized and conducted for the sake of developing a privileged group, frankly known as the governing class, competent to

write "gentleman" after its name. The newer type of college was established with the presumable purpose of educating farmers and mechanics in their own professions. But very soon it became evident that the great work of the land grant college was not so much educating more farmers as educating better farmers. It was not so much training mechanics by shop methods as it was developing the principles underlying the mechanic arts. It was not so much building up an educated mass of people, good as that was in itself; it was more the determination to compel knowledge to solve for society its most troublesome problems, whether those problems lay in the field of morals, medicine, or law, on the one hand, or of farming, manufacture, or business on the other.

The clear result of the earlier attempts at putting the Land Grant Act into execution was the general conviction that education must be put to work and pose no longer as an idle goddess for worship. This all meant, therefore, that the time had passed when education was to be regarded as something which gave one individual an advantage over another. It was to be regarded from now on as an agency of progress, as a means of developing not only certain favored professional lines but every line which can be held as of interest to a civilized and rapidly advancing people. From that time on, knowledge and an acquaintance with the facts of the world, whether material or spiritual, was no longer to belong to a close corporation,—since which time, we have heard nothing more about commercialism as debasing education.

If the Morrill Act had done nothing else than to have brought these extremes together in ways that should rationalize our educational ideals as suited to a democracy, it would have been worth many times all it has cost, both in money and in the exercise of brain tissue.

These early disciples of the new education, however, undertook a most difficult contract. It was nothing less than an endeavor to develop out of the materials of agriculture, on the one hand, and mechanics, on the other, courses of instruction that might be ranked as of college grade. Of course it lay in the situation that the first attempts were crude and the results anything but satisfactory. It was science that led the way in developing new values in the field of knowledge, for in many lines, particularly chemistry, developments came rapidly and their usefulness both outside and within the field of agriculture became early apparent.

It is not too much to say that in the attempt to develop courses of collegiate grade out of the materials of agriculture, for example, the pendulum tended strongly to swing in the opposite

direction from that maintained by the classicist, and many a disciple of the new education felt called upon to decry the old, with especial emphasis on Latin, the symbol to him of all uselessness.

In many institutions the courses of study that were developed practically ignored the old and attempted to build up something entirely new. The attempt succeeded fairly well, so far as the sciences were concerned, but difficulties were met within the technical field of agriculture itself. Teachers were few and ill-trained; they had little knowledge of the sciences, and less of the classics; they were not scholars in any proper sense of the term.

Then arose the fallacious assumption that we needed no specialized courses because an educated man could do anything, a fallacy soon exploded and mainly by the fact that we had long recognized the need of educating the physician somewhat differently from the lawyer. This conviction held us to the problem of working out industrial courses.

In many states the land grant had been taken over by the university, which attempted to satisfy the conditions of the law by electing a professor of agriculture to the faculty and laying out on paper an agricultural course with two years of preparation in the arts and sciences. Students entered these courses somewhat freely but most of them left at the end of the second year, those who remained quickly reacting against the anticlimax of one professor attempting to teach so great a subject as all agriculture in the junior and senior years, after the students had been exposed for four semesters to the best thought and best teaching of both classical and scientific subjects afforded by the institution.

Briefly put, it must be frankly admitted that the early attempts to teach both agriculture and the mechanic arts were attempts to teach the art rather than the science that underlay the practice. Engineering succeeded better than agriculture because shop practice lends itself better to the college curriculum than does the art of farming. Methods of handling wood, steel, and iron are practically the same in all the states of the Union; but methods of raising corn or wheat, and of feeding hogs or cattle vary marvelously with the locality, the season, and the customs of the people. Gradually, therefore, we came to the conclusion that the art of farming is not teachable, at least in courses of college grade.

And now we come to the most significant turning point in the history of education and the most fundamental issue that developed out of the Land Grant Act or any other experience in the field of knowledge. It was the conviction on the part of some of the progressive teachers that the scientific basis did not then

exist for developing out of the materials of agriculture courses that would satisfy the student or that could be properly reckoned as of college grade.

With this conviction came movement, for the disciples of the new education were nothing if not bold and progressive. In 1887 they went back to Congress saying: We have tried for twenty-five years to administer these new colleges set up under the Land Grant Act of 1862. We have endeavored industriously to educate farmers and artisans and we have failed because of the lack of a sufficient number of well established facts on which to base our instruction. It is now manifest that education in agriculture must follow the lines of science rather than those of the classics. That is to say, we must become disciples of the inductive method of study. We must teach principles rather than practices. We cannot deduce the principles on which farm practice must rest until we know somewhat fully the facts and the forces that underly the activities of soil, climate, crops, and animals.

It was this admission on the part of a few early advocates of the new education; it was this confession of failure; it was this announcement of their conviction as to what was needed that led Congress in 1887 to pass the so-called Hatch Act, establishing in every agricultural college what was denominated an experiment station, whose business it should be to conduct such lines of investigation as would tend to bring out the facts with which farmers must reckon and the principles upon which they must base successful practice.

It is with a conscious feeling of restraint that I attempt to put in words my own conviction of the sweeping and the far-reaching results of this particular legislation. It was the first official act of any legislative body on record to recognize the fundamental need of research and to provide the means for insuring its realization.

In all the earlier experiences of teaching, we had relied upon the philosopher and the literateur for the things that should be taught. We were very much dependent upon authority and followed it with unquestioned obedience. But science had pointed out that men are frequently mistaken in their guesses and that the only safety in deduction lay first in establishing our premises by inductive methods. It would take more time than we have at our disposal simply to record the failures, the mistakes, and the utterly absurd antics which characterized the first attempts of this new system of experiment stations. As institutions had not been able to provide competent professors of agriculture, they were certainly not equipped with investigators.

But slowly, gradually, and with much pain, truth began to make itself manifest and what was more to the purpose, the spirit of the times was radically changed, and in a way that has meant far more to education than the most optimistic of us can understand.

That is to say, that with all their mistakes and shortcomings, it did not take the experiment station people long to demonstrate to farmers that there were some fields of knowledge which scientists could attack but which were hidden away from the plow. You cannot analyze fertilizer with ordinary spectacles. You cannot study bacteria with a pitch fork. You cannot control disease by building fences. You cannot cure it as our grandfathers used to cure hollow horn and wolf in the tail. Gradually farmers learned that wheat would not turn to chess even when winter killed, and that it was vastly more important to pay some attention to the seed bed, particularly with reference to the physical character of the soil than it was to consult the various phases of the moon.

The result was first of all, that whereas for twenty-five years the colleges of agriculture had labored industriously but unsuccessfully, had been ignored by the farmers and ridiculed by the educators, they now found themselves in possession of the most powerful weapon ever known to the teacher; that is to say, a collection of newly discovered facts for the most part fairly well established even if they were few and far between.

The first effect of this was to attract the favorable attention of farmers. The second effect was to fill up the agricultural courses with students. The third effect was to impress serious minded educators, particularly those in scientific lines. The next effect was to modify and ameliorate the attitude of mind even of the narrowest classicist, and the old and the new began for the first time to come together and talk the matter over.

Finally, with the coming of research into the field of agriculture, and later to some extent into the field of engineering, these two subjects became attractive to the universities of the country. Then it was that we as a people entered for the first time in our educational history upon what might be called rational policies to be evolved by the needs of a people, as they must be evolved in a democracy if it is to live and maintain a free government.

Up to this time agriculture and to some extent engineering under the head of mechanics had languished in the narrowly technical institutions, or else existed in a moribund condition in the so-called state universities. The new idea now sprang into life and intense activity; and whereas in the earlier days it was the separated colleges, like Michigan and Massachusetts, that bore

the brunt of pioneer efforts, when the teaching of agriculture was an art rather than a science, it was the universities now that gave instant and able attention to the whole new field of applied science. Once started in the good work, the universities went almost pell mell forward. They accepted not only agriculture and engineering but every other form of public interest, whether spiritual or material. The new idea proved a veritable elixir of life to those institutions which came to feel it incumbent upon themselves to serve not only the students that registered for their classes but in every way to accept and fill a real obligation for the public welfare, particularly through the medium of research.

I would not claim too much for agriculture, but I would claim this: That it was the interest of farming and it was the agricultural college working alone under the most discouraging conditions that first made clear the indispensable need for research into the material world as a means not only of advancing but of preserving the civilization which has already been begun.

With this newer aspect of education, with this new vision of the duty of an institution that functions in the field of education, with this relation to the public, with this obligation to solve its problems so far as scientific method can permit, came a new feeling and obligation on the part of the public toward the institutions of higher learning. Whereas in the beginning the colleges had devoted themselves to the business of fitting out a few men with exceptional advantages over their fellows and had been supported by charity, they now were devoting their activities to the attempt to solve all the problems of society, so far as the solution lay within the field of research. The public instantly responded, responded with funds, responded with sympathy, responded with such help as never before had favored any attempts at education.

And now the time has fairly come when public welfare is recognized not only as the basis of all higher education but as the justification of its support out of the purses of all the people, and research is its slogan—research not only into the practical affairs of life, research not only into the material world that lies about us and out of which we extract not only our life but much of its possibilities, but research also and creative activity in the finer things of the spirit whereby we shall grow in grace as the ages come and go.

The day has passed therefore when, at least in a state institution, the individual student can assume that the college exists primarily for him and his kind. The university is now recognized to exist primarily as an agent for inquiry into the hidden mysteries of nature, material and spiritual, for setting the world's stock of

knowledge in order so that it may serve this, that, or the other interest of society, whether material, moral, or spiritual, and incidentally for giving instruction to such students as may attend.

The prime purpose in education in these days is research and service, and the old aim of instruction, though it has lost none of its importance, no longer carries the emphasis, now being regarded as secondary, at least from the standpoint of support and expense.

It is not too much, I think, to lay claim to the assumption that this new aspect of education, this new relation on the part of the public, and this new means of support is mainly due, though not exclusively, to the natural working out of the provisions of the Land Grant Act of 1862.

It used to be assumed that these Land Grant colleges aiming to serve all the people must necessarily operate as low grade institutions. The fears have not been justified: quite the contrary.

It is true that the Land Grant College is obliged to connect itself with the public system and must occasionally admit a poor student, but it is not compelled to keep him. And experience shows that the Land Grant College does not retain its poor students even so generally as do others for the very good reason that free tuition means that every student is a financial liability rather than an asset.

There remains to mention one phase of this new movement, the whole meaning of which has not yet appeared. It will be remembered in a critical reading of the Morrill Act that these new colleges were to be a peculiar kind of hybrid, fathered by the federal government, mothered by the state, and nourished wherever nourishment could be found.

The fact that so many of them lived so long upon so little food is *prima facie* evidence of the gift of immortality that must have been theirs from the beginning.

But like many another youngster born under hard conditions and fighting for its life, the Land Grant University of today, at least in the most favored states, has become a robust youngster. It is but a youngster yet in the educational field, to be sure, but it has brought along more problems, accepted more responsibilities, and is charged with more hope and future prospects than any of its older brethren.

This makes it all the more necessary to take stock from time to time as to the shaping of its policies. All of these Land Grant institutions have accepted not only the first two grants which have been specifically mentioned, but other and succeeding grants from the Federal treasury, each with various and varying conditions, which have been accepted along with the money appropriated.

Even so, the great means of support of the Land Grant institutions are the states in which they are situated. It is the commonwealths whose citizens they directly serve, whose problems they held to solve, and whose sons and daughters they help to educate. Here then we have a kind of double system of allegiance and support, a Federal and a local, and nothing is more important than the relations between these two agencies of progress.

Just what is to come of it, just what shall be their mutual duties and responsibilities, federal and state, yet remains in many respects to be evolved. The other questions that have arisen in connection with the new ideals created by Federal legislation are, it seems to me, fairly well settled, and nothing but promise looms ahead, provided the states will squarely meet their obligations and the Federal member of the educational partnership will confine itself to questions and issues of national or at least of regional import.

We have not progressed so very far with respect to the state and federal relations, but we are moving ahead, and if we may judge the future by the past, if we may predict that our successors will be as faithful and honest as ourselves, and we dare not do otherwise, then we may look with confidence to the future of the land grant institutions. They have certainly passed the experimental and controversial stages and would seem to have left behind them most of the evils that all young things fall heir to.

REVIEW OF RECENT FEDERAL LEGISLATION ON EDUCATION

By SAMUEL P. CAPEN, *Director of the American
Council on Education*



AY I preface the discussion of the subject assigned me by a brief work of greeting? The American Council on Education through me offers its felicitations to President Kinley and its congratulations to the University of Illinois on this important occasion in the life of the University. President Kinley's contacts with educational activities in all parts of the country have been manifold. Many of us who are delegates to this conference have worked with him either in that field of science in which he is a recognized leader, or in one or more of the larger national movements for the promotion of higher education. We have found him a wise and suggestive counselor—even when we did not agree with him—always refreshingly unorthodox, and absolutely fearless. There never was a time when the universities of the country had more urgent need of precisely these qualities in their leaders. The University of Illinois is especially fortunate in having President Kinley's stimulating and virile guidance during this difficult period of national readjustment.

The history of the Federal Government's participation in the educational affairs of the country may be divided into two periods. The first was one hundred and twenty-six years long, the second has been something less than eight. From the time of the adoption of the Constitution down to 1914 the policy of the Federal Government with respect to education was perfectly consistent. Education was regarded as a function of the states, not in any sense a function of the National Government. Occasionally the Government made grants to the states for the promotion of education. During the first hundred years of the nation's life all of these grants were land grants, culminating in those famous grants which established the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. Thereafter from time to time the Federal Government made continuing appropriations for the maintenance of the colleges so established. These now amount to a respectable annual income for each of the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. But Federal supervision of activities carried on by funds derived from grants of land, or from annual appropriations made prior to 1914, was not provided for. In other words it was the policy of the

Federal Government to stimulate desirable educational activities within the states, but never to direct them or even negatively to exercise control over them.

This policy was reinforced by the character of the agencies which the Government set up to deal with its concerns in the educational field. The Bureau of Education, the Government's principal education office, was charged with the collection and dissemination of information. It had no administrative powers. Other offices subsequently created to look after the educational interests of special departments of the Government were of a similar character. The powers granted to them were not such as to violate the Government's traditional policy of non-interference.

The passage of the Smith-Lever Act in 1914, providing for cooperative agricultural extension, marked the beginning of a departure from this policy. The beginning was small and inconspicuous. Because the Smith-Lever Act did not affect the regularly organized work of educational institutions it was not at first generally identified as an important educational measure. You will recall that the Smith-Lever Act makes large continuing appropriations to the states for agricultural extension to be carried on cooperatively by the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts and the United States Department of Agriculture. In order to secure its allotment of Government money each state must match the Federal appropriation by an equal sum raised from local sources. By implication the act also places in the hands of the Federal Government determinative power with respect to the way in which the joint appropriations are to be spent. It states: "that the work shall be carried on in such manner as may be mutually agreed upon by the Secretary of Agriculture and State Agricultural College" and provides further that "before the funds... appropriated shall become available to any college for any fiscal year plans for the work to be carried on... shall be submitted by the proper officials of each college and approved by the Secretary of Agriculture." Almost immediately the Department of Agriculture developed a large administrative bureau and a supervisory field force to enable it to comply with these provisions.

The Smith-Lever Act was one of the most portentous acts ever passed by Congress. It not only inaugurated a new kind of government procedure in the field of education. It embodied, unless I am mistaken, the first provision for financial cooperation between the Federal Government and the states on the dollar for dollar basis. This fiscal device fell upon sore-beset legislators as manna from Heaven. Almost over night it rose to the dignity of a principle. As a political measure the device was a stroke of

genius. It had the double advantage of taking the curse off large Federal appropriations and of making the home districts believe they were receiving presents from the Government. Of equally magical quality was the euphemistic phrase "cooperation with the states." It has become an irresistible slogan. A legislative proposal designed to remedy any social defect by the expenditure of Federal money needs only to carry the potent clause, "for cooperation with the states," to secure the enthusiastic endorsement of almost any organized body of citizens.

But the principle of so-called cooperative appropriations wholly or partly under Federal control has never been subjected to critical scrutiny. Has the country had sufficient experience with such measures to warrant a judgment concerning the wisdom of the policy which they embody? Let us examine those that deal with education.

It is, of course, well known that great benefits have come through the promotion of agricultural extension under the Smith-Lever Act. The act has been on the whole sympathetically and tactfully administered and there has been no marked discontent at Federal interference among those that the law affects. Evidences of friction, however, have not been altogether wanting. Indeed if the act had stood alone the desirability of this method of fostering an educational movement might never have been questioned.

But within three years the Smith-Lever Act was followed by the Smith-Hughes Act for Vocational Education. This measure provided for the annual appropriation of still larger sums of Federal money to be matched by state or local levies, the combined appropriations to be used for vocational training in public secondary schools and for the training of vocational teachers. It also created an independent Federal Board to administer appropriations. The Act imposed specific and exacting conditions upon the states in the use of Federal funds. Moreover all state programs of training, including proposed courses of study and methods of instruction, must be submitted to the Federal Board for Vocational Education for approval. The government agency was thus clothed with comprehensive powers. The history of the relations of the Government with local educational authorities in the administration of the Vocational Education Act is familiar to every student of education. Difficulties and dissensions have been common. Again it is only fair to say that these may not have offset the benefits derived from the act but they furnish an unhappy contrast to the harmonious development of the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts under a different Federal dispensation.

It is also worth while to note in passing that the Vocational Education Act contributed still further to the disorganization of the Government's own educational activities. By this act vocational education was recognized as a thing apart and a separate government office was established to care for it. Whether one approves of fifty-fifty appropriations, or of intimate Government supervision of local educational undertakings, or not, I think it will be generally admitted that the organic separation of the machinery for vocational education from the rest of the Government's educational effort was peculiarly unfortunate.

Twice again within the last year and a half Congress has entered the fringe of the educational field with measures precisely similar in fundamental policy to the Smith-Hughes Act. The Act for Industrial Rehabilitation passed in 1920 appropriates money to the states for the vocational rehabilitation, through training, of persons injured in industry. The appropriations are made on almost identical terms with the appropriations for vocational education and they are administered by the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

Finally in the closing days of the session which has just adjourned the Maternity Bill became a law. The educational implications of this measure are less direct, but the now familiar principle once more appears in its full integrity. There are dollar for dollar appropriations and Government approval of state projects. The bill also brings into being a new board and confers upon still another bureau—this time the Children's Bureau—authority over local educational efforts.

Let us now see where we are. It is apparent that extraordinarily rapid progress has been made in the development of this new cooperative policy in the short space of seven years. Four important educational measures have been passed, three of which open up new fields of educational activity to joint Government and state exploitation. The Federal appropriations made under these acts increase annually for a period of years. When the maximum is reached the Federal Government will be spending a little over fifteen million dollars a year on the enterprise in question. It is interesting to compare these expenditures with the Federal expenditures for the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. After fifty years the Federal Government spends on the sixty-eight land-grant colleges for instruction and experimentation approximately three and a half million dollars annually. In this audience and at this University it would be superfluous to comment on the far-reaching influence over all higher and secondary education that has emanated from the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. No serious disagreements have marred the

relations of these land-grant colleges with the Government, except such as have arisen over the conduct of extension work of vocational education since 1904. Constant and increasing friction, on the other hand, has attended the Government's efforts in those other fields that we have been discussing. The work of individual institutions has been warped and distorted. Local state officers have been subjected to continual irritation.

Nevertheless, Congress, and what might be called the uplift lobby, are undaunted. The principle of fifty-fifty cooperative appropriations so far from being seriously questioned is now the accepted formula for all important measures designed to affect education. My subject does not include pending legislation but I may perhaps be pardoned if I allude briefly to certain of the important bills now before Congress.

There is first of all the Towner-Sterling Bill which provides for the creation of a Department of Education and authorizes the appropriation of one hundred million dollars a year to cooperate with the states in curing the most patent defects in our educational system. The framers of this measure have, to be sure, been warned by the unhappy episodes that have marked the execution of the Smith-Hughes Act. In the hope of preventing the possibility of offensive Federal dictation the bill specifically reserves to the local authorities complete supervision and control of educational activities carried on under the joint appropriations. Most students of government, however, and especially those who have studied the development of centralizing tendencies in the Government of the United States, believe that, in spite of reservations to the contrary, a large measure of Federal control will inevitably follow the distribution of such considerable Government subsidies. But whether the optimists or the alarmists are right is for the moment beside the point. The Towner-Sterling Bill provides for cooperative national and state appropriations totaling two hundred million dollars.

The Fess-Capper Bill for Physical Education is in one sense a fractional part of the Towner-Sterling Bill. It is designed to establish a national system of physical education by cooperative appropriations under Federal direction. Ten million dollars annually of Federal money is provided to be matched by state funds. Control of the same drastic character as that authorized by the Smith-Hughes Act is vested in the Commissioner of Education.

And within the last two years a number of other bills of similar or identical construction intended to benefit public health, or the work of Americanization, or tending to promote some unorthodox educational undertaking, have been introduced in Congress. These have been paralleled by measures affecting other

activities and embodying the same principles. In this connection it should not be forgotten that the most expensive cooperative measure of all, the Good Roads Act, is built on precisely the same lines.

Certain conclusions can now easily be drawn from the experience of the last seven years with Federal legislation bearing on education. In the first place it is obvious that the new type of Federal law brings action without delay. It buys action. No such country-wide development of agricultural extension or vocational education could possibly have been induced in this brief period without the combined pressure of Federal subsidies and Federal authority. The proponents of the measures already passed and of those still pending emphasize this fact—and properly. But, as has been said, action is attended by antagonism and resentment toward the Government on the part of those who are by this means induced to act. This is an equally important fact and must be faced.

In the second place, the measures that have been discussed have already radically altered the long-accepted relationship between the Federal Government and the states. The Federal Government previously entered the states only in the interests of national defense and for the protection of life and property. Through these recent acts it now exercises control in other fields. To that extent the autonomy of the states has been curtailed. But the autonomy of the states is not curtailed merely by bureaucratic orders from Washington. There is another still more important influence. Already a very considerable portion of state revenues is claimed for purposes designated by the Federal Government. Let the principle which we have been discussing continue to dominate Federal legislation for a decade or two longer and the major part of all state tax levies will be mortgaged in advance for the support of undertakings determined at Washington. By a gradual and unsuspected process of transition the respective functions of the Federal and state governments will have been changed. This is what fiscal cooperation with the states on the fifty-fifty basis, Smith-Lever, Smith-Hughes, Sterling-Towner cooperation, really means.

Do we want it? Perhaps we do. But whether we do or not, let us recognize it. Let us examine every proposed piece of legislation embodying provisions for financial cooperation with full consciousness of what its passage implies.

Now if some of the persons here present do wish to see the Government continue this method of participation in American education, I am frank to say that I do not. In closing I should like to define what I believe to be the Government's legitimate

and fruitful function in the conduct of the nation's educational enterprise. This function is clearly revealed by the old and the new experiments in the promotion of the intellectual interests of the country.

The Government of the United States is engaged in two distinct kinds of national service. The first is defensive or conservative, the second is creative. Under the defensive service of the Government are properly grouped all those ancient activities relating to the raising of money, the administration of justice, provision for military defense, postal communication, and the adjustment of foreign relations. The agencies which the Government has devised to carry on these activities are agencies of self-preservation. Within the spheres in which they operate they must control absolutely the lives, the property, or the conduct of citizens, else the nation's safety is jeopardized. Back of them lies the full physical force of the Government.

The second kind of service, the creative service of the Government, is of quite a different character. In it are included those activities designed to foster industrial production, to encourage scientific inquiry, to promote social welfare, and to advance education. Very evidently the sanction behind the Government's promotion of these creative concerns of the nation is not force. It is not even the coercive power of subsidies. What is it? It is persuasion. This is proved by reviewing the history of any of the government establishments for dealing with these creative interests.

How did the Department of Agriculture effect a revolution in the nation's basic industry in the short space of fifty years? Not by fiat. Not by the distribution of money. The result was achieved by knowledge, ideas, publicity; in other words, by persuasion. And the great subsidies and mandatory laws that the Department has recently had to administer are a misfortune both to it and to the interest that it serves, although the Department may not yet be aware of the fact.

Why has the Bureau of Education, with insignificant appropriations and a shifting personnel, had an influence on American education out of all proportion to its size and resources? Because its task was to investigate and promote, and because it had no administrative powers. Commissioners of Education have occasionally desired to change this situation, but it is fortunate for education and for the Bureau that they were unable to do so.

What is the source of the prestige of the Children's Bureau? Not its powers, for it has had none; but rather the accuracy of its studies of sociological conditions and the validity of its conclusions. And now in the last few days there has fallen to it the

task of administering the subsidies carried by the Maternity Bill and so of exercising control in the field in which it has previously furnished inspiration alone. In spite of the fact that the Children's Bureau was eager to get these subsidies, it is now really an object of commiseration.

The lesson of the Government's experience in dealing with the creative interests of the nation is plain. These interests flourish if furnished with ideas, intellectual guidance, leadership. They suffer if subjected to control. The ancient policy of non-interference—which probably was adopted and persevered in largely by accident and which was finally altered without full realization of what the alteration entailed—was the right policy.

By far the greatest and most important of the creative interests of the nation is education. What does education need from the Federal Government in the future? It needs three things: unification of the Government's own educational enterprise; studies on a large scale of the educational problems of the country; and leadership. To meet these needs there must be a consolidation of bureaus and offices at Washington, and a larger, better supported, more influential establishment; an establishment that can command the services of the best minds in the country. Whether this establishment should be an independent department, a commission, or a division of a department is of secondary importance—although most of us have our preferences. It is of first importance that the establishment be charged with only those functions which experience has proved are helpful and vitalizing to American education everywhere.

THE INSTALLATION

By WILLIAM L. ABBOTT, *President of the Board of Trustees*



HE PRESIDENT of a university is the institution's great hope, and the installations of presidents are milestones marking, as no other events can, the university's progress. As the president holds in his hands, in large measure, the success or lack of success of his institution, it is imperative that the selection of a president be made with deliberation and care, and it is fitting that his installation be celebrated with ceremony and felicitation.

When President James's failing strength made him ask to be permanently relieved of his burden, he was urged instead to spend a year and more in rest and recuperation, in the hope that he would then be able to come back. Reluctantly and against his judgment, he consented to make the attempt. His reluctance was not so much on his own account as it was for his successor, who he said should be unhampered by former administrative policies and free to formulate and follow his own.

President James went away, and, in natural course, Vice-President Kinley succeeded to the presidential duties and carried out scrupulously the policies of his principal. He discharged the duties of the office in such a masterly way that when, several months later, word came that President James would never be able to resume his old position the Board had already realized that it had, in the acting president, an executive who, in addition to his recognized scholarly attainments, was possessed of high administrative ability and qualities of leadership of rare presidential grade. He had already won our admiration and esteem, and it was our impulse to make him President forthwith; but, fearing that it might have been prejudiced by the endearment of long association, the Board, in justice to the University and in justice to Dr. Kinley himself, deferred action while it sought far and near for someone available and better—nay, for someone the equal of the one it already had. The Board searched conscientiously for such a man; it searched while the faculty wondered; it searched while the Alumni murmured; it searched and found him not. Dr. Kinley was chosen president, and time has verified the wisdom of that choice.

President Kinley, we are come formally to install you in the high office to which you were long since elected. Before you surges an ever increasing throng of the flower of the youth of this

and other states and nations. At your side, to uphold your hands, stands a loyal and efficient staff, the equal of any in the land. Behind you is the Board of Trustees, whose only purpose is to help you to make the most of the opportunities now here. Behind the trustees is the far-flung line of Alumni at your beck and call, while back of all are the teeming millions of the State of Illinois, with their increasing wealth, increasing intelligence, increasing desire for higher education, and increasing liberality in the support of this institution.

Oh, Illinois, central jewel in the diadem or Crown of Commonwealths, would that we could pierce the veil of your immediate future to gauge the magnitude of the obligations which that future lays on this generation and on this institution!

David Kinley, I now pronounce you formally installed as President of the University of Illinois. Upon your shoulders we place the great responsibility of giving guidance and instruction in character and knowledge to the throngs that will sit at your feet for a brief space and then go out to make an impress upon the state and the nation. Into your hands is given authority over this great institution, with its ramified organizations and its innumerable undertakings, touching upon every phase of human knowledge, and into your hands is given the custody of its physical property.

I congratulate you upon your opportunity for service and upon your ambition to serve, and may God spare you and give you strength commensurate with your task, your courage, and your zeal.

PRESIDENT KINLEY'S RESPONSE



R. PRESIDENT, Board of Trustees, distinguished delegates, colleagues and friends: One scarcely knows how to reply to such an appeal and such a call other than to say that, under God's direction, I will do the best I can. I will give all that is in me for the furtherance of the great purpose and the maintenance of the high standards and the continuance of the great ideas for which this institution of learning has been established by the people of Illinois and which, through the years, it has adhered to and struggled to maintain and to advance. I have been deeply touched, Mr. President, by the confidence that the Board of Trustees has placed in me ever since that afternoon in 1919 when my dear friend, the dear friend of all of us, said that he did not want to go to the baccalaureate service or to the commencement exercises and they called me in to see the day through; because President James did not feel equal to the task. I have been deeply affected by the loyal support that the trustees, faculty, students, and alumni have given me since that time. They have come without solicitation on my part to support the policy, to help put through the plans, to push forward the measures best for the University. No man could ask for or have more whole-hearted support and help than I have had in the last two years, and I have sometimes wondered why. It was through no merit of mine. It has warmed my heart and it has carried me through the dark hours to know that you were with me; and I knew you were doing your best to create that unity of spirit, purpose, and idea established here at the University of Illinois; and I can only promise, Mr. President and fellow members of the faculty, that I will try in the future to give the best that is in me in order that these purposes may still be attained.

In connection with this installation, one thing I miss is the presence of my predecessor. I could not let this occasion pass without paying my personal tribute of affection and gratitude to Edmund James, whom I knew many years before I came here and knew more closely than any of the rest of you as he worked among us. I knew something of his disappointments, of his ambitions, of his struggles, of his achievements, successes, glory. He had no superior any where as a President of a great university,—in personal character, scholarly attainment, scholarly achievement, administrative ability, vision of the future, great heart, mind, and character. He gave them all to you and to me. I wrote him and asked him to come if possible, but he said he could not. I know we all miss him and we all deplore the cause of his absence.

THE RELATION OF STATE AND NATION IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY

By DAVID KINLEY, *President of the University of Illinois*



THE UNIVERSITY has asked you to come together to discuss a question that is before the country. It is a question on which public opinion has not been sufficiently aroused, a question on the decision of which will depend for many years the success of our educational system and in a considerable degree the future relations between our state and national governments. The matter which we are to consider in this conference is a question of public policy, not of educational expediency or advantage. The question is primarily a political rather than an educational one. It does not rest for its solution upon any showing of the need for increasing educational facilities or checking the spread of illiteracy. There is no difference of opinion among us as to the need and desirability of doing these things to the utmost of our resources. Again, the question is not whether we should have a Federal Department of Education. There is room for such a department in any policy or plan that has been proposed. Nor is the question simply whether we should have Federal financial aid for education. The matter of discussion is the method of rendering financial aid, its reaction on the authority of State and local governments, and its influence in determining the character and scope of education. At bottom, the problem is the proper location of the control of educational facilities and standards.

We already have Federal intervention in State educational matters in the shape of Federal aid. The Land Grant Act of 1862 is, of course, the basis of the existence of all the Land Grant Colleges. The second Morrill Act, which follows the principle of the Act of 1862, has been in operation more than thirty years. These Acts have made appropriations to the States, either in the form of an endowment or of an annual appropriation, under certain conditions. The Federal government made these appropriations to the States, leaving them to their own discretion as to ways and means of carrying out the purpose of the laws and spending the money.

But some of the educational bills which now are attracting public attention involve a different principle, as do the Smith-Lever and the Smith-Hughes Acts under which we have been operating for some time. It seems to many of us a wrong prin-

ciple because its operation tends to undermine local authority in educational matters. Some of the bills now under consideration seem worse than the Lever and Hughes laws, because they extend this wrong principle in a more far-reaching way. That principle is the provision of Federal appropriations to States on condition that the States will match the Federal appropriations with equal amounts. In its effect, it seems to me to invade the prerogatives of the State and local authorities, and to contain the germ of a power that, when developed, will determine the character and extent of our education. It seems to me to have in it the ultimate possibility of impairing the initiative and independence of every school district in the country.

The current of effort to bring the Federal government into active participation in educational affairs suddenly became strong within the past few years. What has already been done in the way of interference with our educational system by Washington and what it is proposed to do is a remarkable exhibition. I presume that it is not far out of the way to say that nearly one hundred bills and resolutions dealing with or touching on educational matters have been brought before Congress in the past two or three years. Some of these are unimportant, but several involve large issues of national policy. Scarcely any proposal that can fairly be brought under the head of education seems to have escaped the attention and ardor of the proponents of a policy to use the strong arm of Washington to make us all well informed, intelligent, and moral. The tendency has become so strong that wisdom bids us pause to ask whither we are tending; to determine whether, even if we grant the main principle of Federal aid in education, we are not now wandering into dangerous by-ways of policy.

Dr. S. P. Capen, the distinguished Secretary of the American Council on Education, wrote in one of his reports about a year ago, as follows:

"While the control of education is still admitted to be the function of the States and not of the Federal government, one measure after another has found its way on to the statute books which tends to break down the integrity of this theory. By accretion, we are getting a nationalized system of education, more and more influenced, if not actually controlled by the Federal government. If we are not on our guard, we will find ourselves in a position where not only the character of our educational processes, but immediate authority over them, and control of the means of their support, will be usurped by the Federal government and put into the hands of some bureau at Washington conducted by men who neither understand nor appreciate the necessity of

the human element in education and educational machinery. Indeed, it is impossible for a bureaucratic administration to recognize the influence of the human element. It must work by rule in a machine-like way. For that reason there are greater dangers in permitting the control of our education to pass into bureaucratic hands than of almost any other department of our life."

Some proponents of Federal intervention in the new way ask for it on the general ground that the States have failed to do their duty in the field of education. They point for proof to the revelations of the amount of illiteracy shown in our Army tests, although some people think these were exaggerated. But it is doubtful whether the failure of State and local officers is, in the long run, any greater than would be the failure of Federal officers. Some urge that the proposals in the bills now before Congress for Federal aid aim at stimulating State and local authorities by offers of assistance to do their duty better in the future. Is not that to say that, because they have failed under the stimulus of a sense of public duty and the obligation of citizenship, we will bribe them to do their duty by offers of money?

It may strike some people as strange that at the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century an attempt is made to focus the attention of the public on the importance of the retention of the autonomy of the States in the important field of education. It may seem to some an echo from the middle of the nineteenth century. Yet our constitution and laws, our political theories, our history, all emphasize the importance we attach to that autonomy. While the power of the Federal government has grown with on-rushing strides, our courts have insisted on retaining the form, at least, of the doctrine of constitutional limitations.

The onward sweep of the growth of Federal power is one of the most surprising facts in our history. Our forefathers framed a Constitution which they thought would preserve the rights and prerogatives of the States, on the one hand, and of the Federal government, on the other. It is true that Congress still legislates and the Federal courts still render decisions in the language of the Constitution. The fact is, however, that the theories underlying these Federal actions and judicial decisions do not square with the practice of the government and that we are far away in many respects from the ideals and purposes of the framers of the Constitution.

The original concept of the relation of the State and Federal government was, as we all know, that the latter was a government of expressly delegated powers and of such other powers as were necessary to the execution of those expressly granted. Federal sovereignty, therefore, became a sovereignty which included

the powers expressly granted and the powers implied by the latter. But in the minds of some expansionists this sovereignty was too limited. Therefore there has grown up a new doctrine, strange to the Constitution and to the intentions of its framers. It is that the Federal government, being a sovereign power in matters delegated to it by the States and in matters implied by this delegation, must also be as much of a sovereign as any other sovereign power in the world, and, therefore, must have authority over all matters within the jurisdiction of any sovereign power, since sovereignty could not really be limited.

This doctrine involves the entire abnegation of the reserved rights of the States. Under the influence of this theory of sovereignty and the not uncommon opinion that if a thing is a good thing to do, it matters little which one of our agencies does it, many things have been done which are good in themselves but whose good has been purchased at the price of the impairment of our form of government. The Supreme Court has always been careful to draw the line between State and Federal authority, although it may not always have drawn it in the same place. In a decision as late as 1906, in *Kansas vs. Colorado* (U. S. 206), the Court gives expression to the proper doctrine in these words: "But the proposition that there are legislative powers affecting the nation as a whole which belong to, although not expressed in the grant of powers, is in direct conflict with the doctrine that this is a government of enumerated powers." The Court further states that "the powers affecting the internal affairs of the States not granted to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively."

Nevertheless, many practices through many years have established departure from the strict observance of the doctrine thus expressed by the Court.

If we admit that our departure from the substance of government set up in the Constitution is settled in practice, it is proper for anyone of us to stop and question a new proposal that will lead us farther in this same direction. In other words, the real question is always the question of advisability, the question of policy, the question, "How far shall we go?" The problem is always to find that happy balance between Federal and State authority, between the extension of any authority and the development of the individual sense of responsibility, which will conserve liberty in a satisfactory degree and at the same time give us a reasonably satisfactory condition of morals and welfare.

We must note that the extension of Federal control does not come only from specific legislative enactments. Such control may come from executive or administrative action. While

the executive department of our national government was established to carry out the wishes of the legislative branch, it, like the legislative branch, has spread its power far beyond this field. Illustrations might be given from several different fields; but it is sufficient for our present purpose to illustrate the inevitable growth of administrative power by occurrences springing from the administration of the Federal educational laws already in existence.

Only recently the University of Illinois was asked to take part with one of the bureaus of the government in what is commonly called a cooperative scheme of research. The bureau agreed to pay the cost of the investigation in installments, the last to be paid after it was concluded, but was obliged by the rulings of its Department to require that the publication of the results be by it. The policy of the University of Illinois in conducting investigations for outside parties is to require the deposit of the money in advance, and it insists on control of the results and publication of them by itself. Otherwise it would be in the position of incurring liabilities for others, to be paid out of University money, and would be in the difficult position of sometimes having results of investigations published which it might not approve. But in this case we would have been willing to waive the pre-payment of the expense. We would have been willing to make an agreement to permit the publication of the results by the bureau if we did not publish them within a certain time, or to permit their publication simultaneously by both parties after they had been agreed on. But these terms could not under the regulations of the department be accepted. In other words, the proposition was not really a cooperative one, but a proposal to make an employee of the University for the convenience of the bureau.

Another illustration may be taken from recent experience. For years the Commissioner of Education has been accustomed to collect educational statistics from the collegiate institutions of the country. He has been accustomed to send his blanks to the institutions. About a year ago the institutions were informed that hereafter their statistics would be collected for the Commissioner through the State Departments of Education. A notice was sent out stating that:

"The State Department of Education should be the only agency within a State to which the Federal government should be required to apply for information regarding educational statistics. Each State Department of Education should collect and include in its reports statistical and other information in regard to all educational institutions and activities, public and private, in the State . . . so that its reports may constitute a history of all educational activity in the State."

Now this seems like a very simple change; but let us see what is involved. The very words that the Department of Education "should" be able to get all its statistics through the State Department is the announcement of a policy. Why should it? If it should, it can be only because it has certain official relations with these State Departments of Education. What law established them? By what authority did the Commissioner of Education put it down upon the various State Departments to return these statistics? By what authority did he tell the colleges and universities that reports required by him "should" be sent to the State Departments? It will not be many years before the phraseology will vary far enough to be an order, if experience in similar lines is any guide. True, the word "should," in the mind of the officer who first issued these instructions, may have meant only to indicate what he thought would be a more logical arrangement. But his successor, finding the instructions in practice, would be likely to interpret them as obligatory.

Vocational education has recently been imposed on us. Under proper conditions, suitable vocational education ought to be provided. But under the law our communities are induced to establish it by an offer of money, provision for matching which may either strain their resources or divert to this kind of training local money which should go to improve general education. Moreover, the States were required to establish special agencies to deal with the matter.

"Machines have been perfected to the degree that in three days a child just out of the public schools can be taught to operate one as well as an efficient machinist who served a long apprenticeship at less than a living wage." What children in industrial communities need is more general, rather than vocational, education—education to make a life rather than to make a living.

A few years ago two officers from one of the Washington departments presented themselves in the office of one of our directors. They were sent to do work which was considered co-operative. One of these young officers had been dropped from this particular college. The other had been dismissed from a position as farm manager for incompetence.

In a recent address an officer of a Federal department which has to do with our higher educational institutions said to his University cooperators, "There are some things for which Federal money cannot be spent because it is specifically forbidden in the law or *because the Secretary does not consider expenditure for those purposes wise under the law.*"

The Federal officer in charge of these cooperative, fifty-fifty, investigations not only determines that the Federal money assigned is properly spent; he assumes to pass on the expenditure

of the State funds also. In the address just referred to is the plain statement, "We must also account for the offset funds."

Some years ago experts in Washington took issue with a distinguished member of the staff of this University on certain scientific matters. We were told that unless Professor _____ ceased his contentions, funds assigned to an entirely different department of the University would be withdrawn. Our staff member did not cease his contentions. I may add that the funds were not withdrawn.

In showing the extension of Federal control through administrative action, I do not at all criticise the officers concerned. Any one of us would do the same thing because they are held responsible for seeing that the expenditures are made in a way to avoid the criticism of other officers in their own and other departments. That things have gone as well as they have is due to the reasonable attitude taken on the whole by all concerned. But this reasonable attitude has been due mainly to the fact that the executives in Washington and the officers of the universities have been generally of the same educational generation and therefore classmates, friends, etc.

It is but fair to say that the numerous acts of Congress providing for activities in agriculture and home economics culminating in the custom known as the fifty-fifty plan cannot be considered as indicating an intentionally aggressive policy on the part of Congress in relation to the States.

These bills for the most part did not originate in Congress, certainly not the scores that have failed to pass. The plain truth is that so many and such varied propositions looking to drafts from the Federal treasury have been urged upon Congress that in sheer defense and in order to test the question of widespread need and interest on the part of the public, Congress has adopted the plan of retort courteous by stipulating that the condition of enjoying the Federal funds is the appropriation of equal amounts on the part of the State.

It is a fair proposition on the face of it, but its effects are wholly evil, and this for three reasons:

1. No State or university can withstand the pressure of public opinion in the face of the possibility of adding to its resources from the public treasury, even though in providing the offset fund, the amount will be charged against the institution and reduce thereby its budget for other purposes.

2. In the administration of federal funds supplemented by this offset, the auditing agent of the institution passes not only upon expenditures of Federal money but upon an equal amount of State appropriations. Now reason suggests and experience

shows that when the policy of the institution as a whole and the policy of the Federal Department fail to agree, it is the former that must give way. The Federal administration to that extent will dominate the policy of the state educational institution.

3. This leads logically to a comparison of the educational policies likely to evolve in a university as compared with those likely to develop through the decisions of an executive department. On the one hand, in the case of the university, there is adequate and effective machinery for deliberately considering a new policy in all its relations and it may be assumed that when its faculties, its president, and its trustees have arrived at a conclusion, it is a fairly wise one, not only that, but policies can be readily changed if found unwise or with changing conditions.

On the other hand, policies evolved through administrative decisions are not the result of discussion; they are based first of all upon bureaucratic interpretation of the intent of the law; next, upon the mass of office decisions that have been made in the various departments of the Federal government; and finally, upon the individual slant of the particular person who happens to be detailed to review the records at any given date. Such policies are patch work policies and never can represent, excepting indirectly and incompletely, the results of wise deliberation. While personal friendship has saved us so far from serious consequences, it is well that the system be altered while friendship still exists.

The question of the autonomy of a scientific organization, or even of the university to which it may belong, as over against the possible control by a Federal Department is something more than an academic issue. Neither is it of recent significance, for a considerable number of years ago, the Secretary of Agriculture not only presumed to criticise severely the policies of certain state experiment stations but announced the belief that the whole system of experiment stations should be under the control of the Department of Agriculture, which condition he predicted would not be many years in developing.

"Nothing is said in the Constitution about education. The States reserved to themselves the management of their schools." These words are quoted from a textbook on advanced civics used in many of our schools. We are teaching this doctrine to our children. Under this doctrine, what may the Federal government properly do in educational matters?

It is clear that there is much that the Federal government can do in the way of promoting education in the States under the authority of the States and through the activity of the States and the local communities within their boundaries. Do the measures

now before Congress meet the test of promoting education while still preserving State and local control?

The most important bill now in the House proposes to create an executive department in the government, to be called the Department of Education. I can myself see no objection to such a proposal, provided the authority of the Secretary does not infringe upon that of State and local officers. The bill provides that all power and authority conferred by law upon the head of any executive department, or other officer transferred from existing departments to the proposed Department of Education, shall be vested in the Secretary. It follows that all administrative usurpations just referred to as practiced in other departments which deal with education and research will be transferred to the Secretary of Education. The bill provides that the Department of Education shall conduct studies and investigations in the field of education and report thereon. It provides that research shall be undertaken in illiteracy and certain other subjects. Just what is meant by research is not specified. It is open to the Secretary to determine. Certain specific fields are indicated in which research shall be carried on and, in addition, it may be carried on "in such other fields as, in the judgment of the Secretary of Education, may require attention and study." Important fields of educational research are in the conduct of classes by teachers, the psychology of the classroom, etc. May the Secretary of Education enter the school rooms of the country to conduct this research if, in his judgment, it requires attention and study? The very sources of information necessary for him to conduct his studies are either under his control for this purpose or they are not. If they are not, where does he get his authority to enter the schools of the sovereign States? Can he or his agents come into the University of Illinois and require its officers to make reports or conduct investigations for him or assist in their conduct or in any way give him their assistance, in the absence of a State law requiring them to do so? Yet, if this law passes, it will not be many years before he or someone representing him will be undertaking to do this very thing; and if the University of Illinois refuses, he will then use the pressure of professional, public, and other opinion, uninformed on the merits of the situation, to brow-beat the University into compliance.

The bill under consideration provides appropriations for certain lines of education to be expended by its proposed Department of Education. The things the bill aims to do, educationally, are good. But in order to get any of the money appropriated a State must "qualify". The provision for qualification is "that no money shall be apportioned to any State . . . unless a sum at least

equally as large shall be provided by said State, or by local authorities, or by both, for the same purpose." In other words, this is the same fifty-fifty proposition held out to induce the States to do the particular things that the Federal department wants. The vicious feature of the whole thing is that money is offered to do particular things which may not coincide, on the whole, with the existing State school purposes, practice, and organization. Suppose the Federal Department should sometime offer the State of Illinois \$100,000 for the University to do some extension work which it is not now doing, on condition that an equivalent amount be put from State funds. What would happen? Pressure would be brought to bear on the University to provide the offset from its income. To do so it would have to abandon established work or projected plans of its own. The influence of the plan will, therefore, be to lead communities or States to neglect the educational things which their particular conditions should cause them to institute and carry on, for the sake of getting some of this money. If successful in securing applications for grants under such circumstances, something else that is being done or should be done would be neglected. Moreover, in some cases, if not many, and if not all, the people of the communities themselves would provide for the improvement of their educational facilities under the stimulus of aroused public opinion if the Federal government did not take from them so much in taxes for its particular purposes and then try to induce them to raise another sum over and above what they have paid in taxes to the Federal government and what they are already spending on their schools. The proposition in time will strain the resources of some communities or will divert the line of their educational effort or will lead them to neglect to provide as much as they otherwise would if they had been left on their own resources.

The proposed measure appears like an attempt to do indirectly what the Constitution will not allow directly. It is popular to condemn the "corporation lawyer" because he is supposed to find ways to evade the spirit of the law while observing its form. But we, through Congress, have been doing that with the Constitution for a long time. Are we not now proposing to educate our children in good citizenship, which includes obedience to the Constitution and the law, under a system based upon an evasion of the Constitution? Is that sound political morality?

A Federal Department of Education should deal with educational questions of national, international, and interstate character. There are such problems. The Department may well serve us all through its representatives abroad by giving us information about education in other countries. It could collect information

on all phases of education in our own country, as the Census Bureau does in a general way. It could properly set up standards of teaching and educational equipment as models which undoubtedly rivalry among the different States would impel them to try to attain. It could give advice to any State educational officer or to any educational institution in any State when requested to do so through the proper State educational officer. It could, on similar requests, send its agents to confer and advise concerning improvements, provided Congress will furnish it money enough to employ agents of standing whom the educational officers elsewhere will respect as authorities in the field. It could publish as a result of the study of its educational census its ratings of the educational systems and institutions in the States, to bring public opinion to bear on their improvement by the people themselves.

If Federal aid is to be given the States for education or research, it should be on the principle of the first Federal grants for the Land Grant Colleges and of the second Morrill Act. That is to say, appropriations should be made direct to the States, to be distributed by their legislatures, and to these should be left the mode of distribution. For the public schools that mode should ordinarily be the public school distributive funds already established in the different States, or which could be established. There should be no more of the practice of the wealthy private donor, of giving a dollar provided it is matched by another.

Federal statutes on education should not undertake to determine for the States the subject matter of school curriculums at any rate beyond those commonly accepted curriculums which are regarded as the warp and woof of a general education for citizenship in a democratic Republic like our own. Assignments of money for special kinds of education should be made by the State authorities. If there is a class of people widely distributed among the States who need education of a special kind, it would be proper to ear-mark a certain proportion of the appropriation to the State for that purpose. Such a purpose would be education for Americanization of adult immigrants. Federal concern, especially so far as it involves appropriations, should be primarily with the public school system as ordinarily understood.

The States should report, of course, through their proper officers, as to their use of the appropriations made to them, and the Federal Department should, in turn, report to Congress, making such comments and giving such advice as may be used as a basis of continuance of the appropriations. Further appropriations should be a reward of achievement and not merely a monetary measure of need.

Appropriations to higher institutions of learning in the various States should be principally, at least, for research looking towards the development of the State, its people, its resources. The appropriation, again, should be made direct to the States without any provision of a fifty-fifty character. The application of the fifty-fifty principle in research, as in teaching, distorts expenditure, breeds jealousy among the members of the staff of an institution, and causes resentment when particular institutions are not chosen to assist in investigations of national scope.

The best antidote against the tendency towards this Federal development in education is a vigorous State policy. We have not done our duty in this, as well as in some other matters. What is needed more than Federal appropriations is a public opinion aroused to the neglect of education and the dangers of that neglect. Under present conditions in this country, the Bureau of Education, or Department of Education, could do no greater service than to put before the public the facts concerning our educational delinquencies in the various States, point out their causes, and indicate where the responsibility lies.

I have mentioned possible relations between a Federal Department of Education and the higher institutions of learning in the various States. The University of Illinois, a State University including a Land Grant College, is one of the best examples of the success of the original Federal policy of an assignment of funds or their equivalent direct to the State, to be appropriated and managed by the State Legislature. Like other similarly founded institutions, we have had no difficulties with the Federal Department of Agriculture under the original Land Grant Act or the earlier Agricultural Acts, but we have had under later laws, such as the Smith-Lever and the Smith-Hughes. The University of Illinois, I may say, without being invidious, is one of the greatest of the state universities. It is great because the people of the State have made it so and not because of Federal appropriations. Yet it is true that the Federal appropriations, in the first place and later, have given inspiration to the people of the State to make their College of Agriculture and other departments of the University worthy of themselves and their great State.

The University is only a little over fifty years old. It has had five great Presidents—Gregory, Peabody, Burrill, Draper, and James. It has always had great men on its faculty, and I may say that I am proud today because of my belief, well founded, that the faculty of this institution, which is the principal part of its working organization, not only compares well as a whole with any other, but includes in its number many men who have served their country and the world well by great contributions to knowl-

edge. Its student body has always maintained high standards of conduct. The public, of course, hears the little things, incidents of the life of the university and college students. It does not know, as we who live with them day by day know, the real earnestness, the high moral purposes, and the ambitions that dominate the conduct of the great mass of our students.

What the University of Illinois means to the State of Illinois cannot be expressed in monetary values. Aside from the great intellectual and moral current which has passed through its halls into the life of this great State in the young men and women who have been graduated from it, and which is perhaps, after all, its greatest contribution to the State and Nation, it has repaid in an economic sense to the people of Illinois many times what it has received in money both from the State and Federal governments. Its contributions towards the improvement of the social and political life of the people, as well as towards the increase of their economic welfare, stand out in the history of science and education in this country.

Today the University of Illinois, like similar institutions, is passing through a period of stress and strain. The worst of it, to be sure, in a sense is over. Our attendance has increased in the past three or four years by leaps and bounds, crowding our buildings, burdening the teaching staff, and raising important questions of administration and education. Among those questions is one that is now being widely discussed, whether attendance at an institution like this should not be limited. Some propose that the students shall be "distributed" among other institutions, especially the students of the first two years. Others propose a general limitation without reference to the assignment of students to other institutions, on the ground that so many cannot be handled well in one institution, and that the number should be reduced by raising standards. Complaint is made that numbers have become an ambition and that the number of those seeking a higher education is far in excess of the number which should be so educated. I do not myself sympathize with these views or join in these complaints. No man has any right under a government like ours to undertake to determine that only a few shall be permitted to get an education of higher grade. In a democracy the only proper course is to keep proper standards and welcome all who can meet them. In saying this, I am speaking, of course, of a publicly supported institution. Certainly, the people who are sending their children to be educated will furnish the means to provide the education. I have no fear about administrative difficulties any more than I have about teaching difficulties, on account of the increasing attendance at the Uni-

versity of Illinois, provided always the people supply adequate means to do the work. A large number means simply a more subdivided and complex organization. If we have adequate means to divide the large number into a sufficient number of units, each small enough for proper teaching and with proper accommodations, I do not see why we cannot handle a thousand such units as successfully as a hundred. Therefore, so far as I have anything to say about the future policy of the University of Illinois, it will be along the line of maintaining its standards and welcoming to its doors all those who can meet those standards, up to the limit of the means which their fathers and mothers are willing to supply through their legislature.

In its teaching relations the University of Illinois, although a state university, has no direct authoritative connection with the Federal Bureau of Education. It is to be hoped that no Federal Department of Education will ever have authority to say to this University what it shall teach or how it shall teach it or shall be in a position to distort its budget by offering money for things determined by the Federal Department, to be done in the way provided by the Federal Department. Yet the University of Illinois will always look to a Federal Department of Education for inspiration and help and will be glad to cooperate in all educational matters with such a Department. It will not seek to give this cooperation in ways dictated by itself any more than it would be willing to give it in ways dictated by the Department. It will gladly follow the wishes of the Department in matters of common interest insofar as it can do so without impairing its own individuality as an educational institution or surrendering the dignity and authority which the people of the State have conferred upon it.

The University of Illinois has also made and is making contributions to research like its sister institutions in other States. Research is more expensive, in a certain sense, than teaching. Yet I take it that the state universities and all universities are bound in the future to do more rather than less research; to search for the discovery of truth in more lines of inquiry than they have in the past. In this field there is a great opportunity for cooperation with a Federal Department of Education, as well as with other Federal departments, in the investigation of problems that are of more than State-wide scope. Yet the University's research departments, insofar as these are organized for specific purposes, like the Agricultural Experiment Station and the Engineering Experiment Station, must always feel bound to investigate, first, problems that have a bearing upon the life of the people of our own State, while not neglecting to make their contributions to other problems. Our research, so far as it is unorganized, and

that, in a way, is the largest part, consisting of the search after truth by individual members of the University, will depend in the future, as always, here and elsewhere, for its interest and character upon the men who engage in it. Each must be left free and untrammelled to seek the light in his own way. So best can he contribute to the public advancement.

In its relation to the State, the policy of the University is to train young men and women who will find their success in the service of the people. It is to discover new truths which will improve the culture of the people, using that word in its largest sense. The results of its efforts will not be confined within State lines; indeed, they could not be. The discovery of new lines of progress, the training of men and women who lead their fellow citizens into them, are the ambition, the aim, and the ideal of this University. It is the developmental arm of the State, whose business is to train leaders of the people for future progress and to blaze new paths of progress for the people to follow in the years to come.

To perform this service it must remain as free as it always has been. It is one of the glories of the State of Illinois that it has made its University free. Its Trustees are the direct representatives of the people and are free to go back to the people at any time for instructions and support. The representatives of the people in the legislature loyally support their institution. One of the wonders of our history is that the State Legislature has always been so generous and so ready. We are held to strict accountability, of course, and we are glad to be so held. But in the discharge of the duties entrusted to us no institution could be freer from political control. We desire to maintain this relation, both with reference to the State government and to the Federal government. We would welcome further Federal support of public education and would welcome closer relations between a Federal Department and the University itself. But that Federal relationship should leave as much freedom and give as much generous moral support to the University as the legislature of the State itself does and always has done. Any Federal intervention in education which does not do this for the higher institutions of learning and for the public schools, will not, in the long run, promote education of the kind that we need in a country like ours. It may develop a mechanical, uniform system of education throughout the States, dictated from a central source. But it can never give that freedom of teaching and research necessary to the highest success. It can never furnish that variety of curricula and methods of administration required by the varying conditions of life in the different States, the continuance of which is necessary if we are to have that variety in unity and unity in

variety which in all departments of American life is the very essence of Americanism.

The most important question of internal administration before the American people today is whether or not this onward sweep of Federal control over the details of their local affairs shall go on. The part of that question which we are considering today is whether it is advisable to permit it to include our education. Shall we accept the doctrine that we are destined to become a great continental democracy, governed in all important public activities from Washington, or shall we try to preserve the local autonomy in communities and States which is necessary to the preservation of our liberties? If we accept the doctrine that it is well to become a continental democracy, there is no need of further discussion, and State governments may as well be abandoned. If we do not accept that doctrine, but stand up against the present tendency, we should keep our State governments in substance and not merely in form. Above all, we should keep our education out of Federal bureaucratic control.

GREETINGS FROM OTHER INSTITUTIONS

AT THE CLOSE of President Kinley's address, greetings from the representatives of the State and of other institutions and organizations were presented as follows:

- The Governor of Illinois, the Honorable LEN SMALL, represented by Mr. GEORGE BARR, Director of Trade and Commerce.
- The State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Honorable FRANCIS G. BLAIR (greetings read by Chairman).
- The Normal Schools and State Teachers' Colleges, represented by Doctor LIVINGSTON C. LORD, President of the Eastern Illinois State Teachers' College.
- The Colleges and Universities in the State of Illinois, represented by Doctor C. H. RAMMELKAMP, President of Illinois College.
- The Illinois Agricultural Association, represented by Mr. HARVEY J. SCONCE, First President of the Association and Special Delegate to the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome.
- The Illinois Chamber of Commerce, represented by President JOHN H. CAMLIN.
- Doctor EDMUND JANES JAMES, President *Emeritus* (greetings read by Chairman).
- The State Universities, represented by Doctor EDWARD A. BIRGE, President of the University of Wisconsin.

PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTERING FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS TO STATE INSTITUTIONS

By E. W. ALLEN, *Chief, Office of Experiment Stations,
U. S. Department of Agriculture*



WHEN President Buchanan in 1859 vetoed the Morrill Land Grant Bill, upon which the whole superstructure of public education in agriculture and the mechanic arts rests, he assigned as one of his reasons doubt that the purpose it sought to accomplish would be assured. He said: "It is extremely doubtful, to say the least, whether this bill would contribute to the advancement of agriculture and the mechanic arts," since "the Federal Government which makes the donation has confessedly no constitutional power to follow it into the States and enforce the application of the fund to the intended objects. As donors we shall possess no control over our own gift after it shall have passed from our hands," for, he added, "The Federal Government has no power, and ought to have no power, to compel the execution of the trust."

This not only reflected an extreme view of the sovereignty of the States, current to some extent at that time, but it suggested a lack of confidence either in the integrity or the judgment of the States in carrying out the provisions of the measure, he plainly did not favor. It must be admitted that subsequent events supplied some measure of justification for his apprehension.

When the Morrill Act passed three years later, it carried "no power to compel the execution of the trust," but only an enunciation of the purpose of the measure and provision for the control of the allotment of land it granted. Little supervision was exercised under it and but slight attempt at interpretation of the educational features it contemplated. There was small suggestion or guidance from a central agency, and the States proceeded alone and quite independently.

As is common knowledge, considerable disappointment arose over the development of agricultural instruction and the use made of the land grant funds in some of the States. In fully a half dozen cases it found expression in the separation of the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts from the institutions with which they had originally been connected, and it was responsible in several of the newer States for the establishment of these colleges as separate institutions. Persistent efforts were made by

the people to realize in larger measure their expectations of these colleges, but with only partial success. We know now that the trouble lay in part with the undeveloped basis for agricultural teaching.

The coming of experiment stations in a few of the States led to renewed hope, and the Hatch Act providing for a national system of stations was passed in 1887, twenty-five years after the Morrill Act. It was specific as to purpose, and it called upon the Federal Department of Agriculture to promote its purposes, clothing it with advisory powers. But again it left the matter of carrying out its provisions entirely to the States.

In 1890 came the second Morrill Act, which for the first time contained provision for Governmental administration. It expressed a Congressional desire for a closer restriction and supervision of the funds arising under it, and accordingly gave the Secretary of the Interior jurisdiction and charged him with the proper administration of the law, payment of the semi-annual allotments to be on his warrant. In 1894 similar authority was conferred on the Secretary of Agriculture with respect to the experiment station fund, because the desirability of some supervisory measure had been suggested by the seven years' experience.

The spirit of the Hatch Act was slow in finding acceptance in quite a few of the States. Its avowed purpose was *to aid* the States, but this was interpreted by some of them to mean relief from obligations they had been carrying. Several of those which were already maintaining stations immediately discontinued their State appropriations and fell back on the Government fund. Others planned to transfer to it the expense of their police activities, such as the inspection of fertilizers, etc., but the Treasury Department declared this illegal. At the colleges the Federal fund was applied to the salaries of such general officers as the president, the secretary and the librarian, and teachers with heavy duties were often given station assignments. The operation and maintenance of the entire college farm in numerous instances was transferred to the station, including the educational equipment, live stock, commercial features, general service, etc. In a number of cases this stock and equipment was sold to the station piece-meal and paid for from Federal funds; and in others attempt was made to collect rent from the station for the use of the college farm. It was not uncommon for the proceeds of these farming operations to be claimed by the college for general purposes. In a considerable number of States the funds were divided and distributed over the State in permanent substations and local "model farms."

Of course you will understand that these things are to be viewed purely in the light of the times and in their cause-and-effect relations. They are cited to illustrate the interpretation which was made of this measure—not by all the institutions by any means, and to show that the colleges and the States themselves had been only partially able to secure compliance with the spirit of the organic act. They interposed no objection when Federal supervision was proposed. There was some evidence of apprehension, either voiced or to be felt; and this came to light again when plans and definitions were being put into effect under the supplementary Act of 1906. But as one who had part in the supervisory measures inaugurated, I wish to say that the general spirit in which they were received was most gratifying, and the cordial relations which developed from the first have made possible such benefits as have accrued.

Later legislation continued the provision for administrative supervision, and extended the functions of the Federal departments in relation to these measures. Thus the Smith-Lever Act for cooperative extension work in agriculture and home economics, defines the scope and limitations of the enterprise in considerable detail, stipulates that plans for the work are to be submitted by the colleges annually and approved by the Secretary of Agriculture, and empowers the latter to supervise and control the operations of the Act. The Vocational Education Act likewise goes into much detail regarding the nature of the varied enterprise, and vests the Federal Board of Vocational Education with large supervisory and administrative powers.

It will be realized that there has been much progress in recent years in the relations of the Federal Government with the States. This is seen in provisions for the enforcement of laws, quarantine regulations, combating agricultural pests, road building, and in many other ways. Apparently this expansion has led the general Government to feel that its contracts with the States involving the expenditure of funds should be more carefully drawn, and some authority given Federal agents to see that they are complied with. This supplies a broad fundamental reason for the supervisory legislation.

By acceptance of these various congressional acts for education and assent to their provisions, the State legislatures entered into contracts with the Federal Government, turning over the execution to designated institutions. Hence the same obligation rests on the institution as on the State.

Financial control in the strict sense has constituted a relatively small part of the activities under Government administration, and after the general principle and purpose has been ac-

cepted small reliance has been placed on literalism in interpretation of the laws. Negative, repressive action accomplishes little which is permanent or constructive. The measures have been regarded rather from the standpoint of the opportunity they afford. The desire has been to make the most of this opportunity, and to assist the States in accomplishing this through means especially appropriate to a central agency. Out of the combined experiences of different localities naturally come lessons which are important in securing effective operation or avoiding mistakes, especially in case of a new enterprise. Because the Federal agencies maintain these close contacts the country over, they are in position to draw these deductions and present them to others; and because they are closer to Congress than the more remote State institutions, they feel the pressure of Congressional opinion more keenly, especially with respect to recent measures.

It is important, therefore, to recognize that the Government's interest in these matters has gone beyond that of a donor of funds. The Federal grants are not regarded in the nature of gifts or endowments in the ordinary sense of private benefactions. There is little evidence, certainly of late, that Congress has thought of the appropriations it made in the light of subsidies.

Having established these features in the State colleges, it has become a partner in them, not alone in their support but to a certain extent in the working out of the fundamental idea. More and more Congress has come to view these institutions as in partnership with the Government. Furthermore, it has attempted to develop a national system, and hence has had certain general policies it desired to see carried out. Later legislation especially has committed it to the policy of promoting the general good of these various branches of effort. The primary object, then, has been to aid the States in developing this novel educational system on a national basis.

It will assist in a clear understanding if this cooperative feature is borne in mind, for it is basic in expressing relations and defining the part the Government may properly take in administration. One of the problems has been to secure the acceptance of the cooperative idea, the dual interest, the fact that the Government and the States are partners in this great undertaking. In many cases the States have not recognized it or the trend in Congress, and this is responsible for their failure to attach importance to certain matters of detail and frequently to overlook the community of interest involved.

While the terms of cooperation were not definitely stipulated in the earlier acts, the original land grant was inherently cooper-

purpose. The experiment station act likewise was *to aid* the States, and led to a central agency in the Department of Agriculture to render various forms of assistance. From time to time Congress has "authorized and directed" the experiment stations to cooperate with the Department of Agriculture in various enterprises, such as soil surveys, conducting investigations in human nutrition, irrigation, drainage, forage crops, etc.

The Extension Act marked a decided advance in the cooperative idea. It assumed that the Federal Department of Agriculture as well as the States had acquired much information which it was desirable to present to the farming people of the country by this intimate method, and so it joined the Department and the States, and gave funds that each might have a part in the cooperative undertaking, through a system centered in the colleges. The Vocational Education Act, passed as recently as 1917, has cooperation written all through it.

The growing extent and success of cooperation between the Federal Government and the States, and the fact that cooperation in a great variety of matters is more largely in the program than ever before, is doubtless a large factor in the progressive provision for it in these measures. It assumes that in theory at least there is no reason why the cooperative spirit may not properly prevail in relation to education without sacrifice of individuality or affecting educational policy beyond the influence which was exerted by the acceptance of the Morrill and succeeding acts. Manifestly the course of development of the land grant colleges has been profoundly influenced by the successive measures. The Federal Government supplied the initiative in the form of the motive and the financial nest egg; and at certain stages in the history of all these colleges this impulse and support have meant much to their success. Altho at many of the larger institutions the Federal contributions have come to constitute a relatively small proportion of the total budget, the extent of the part the Government has played and its influence in making these institutions what they are cannot properly be measured on that basis.

Acceptance of this view of the partnership relation between the two agencies naturally implies an obligation on the part of the colleges to take a national point of view, rather than one restricted wholly to their respective States. This in turn involves study of the Federal legislation and the trend of the attitude of Congress in that light. Good administration is favored by a clear understanding of what is implied in the contracts, and by location of authority within the institution to insure attention to these various features and to the maintenance of the Federal contracts.

Apparently there has not been wholly unanimous acceptance of the cooperative spirit of these acts or of what cooperation implies. The views of Federal officers on this point have sometimes been declared to be extreme, and on the other hand, those of college officers have sometimes appeared so. It is occasionally urged by the latter that the Federal appropriations should be turned over to the States to use in accordance with their judgment, with quite limited supervision of plans and expenditures and with but little emphasis on cooperation. But manifestly the Federal acts and the terms of their acceptance are opposed to such a course.

This attitude is sometimes further illustrated with respect to the State or local funds raised to offset the Federal appropriation. Complaint is made that these funds and the plans for their use are likewise subject to Federal supervision as far as they offset Smith-Lever funds, apparently losing sight of the 50-50 stipulation of the act and the provision for its administration by the Secretary of Agriculture.

The psychology of this attitude is not easy to understand. As long as the law remains as it is, a considerable measure of supervision is manifestly inevitable, and there are many who believe it should not be relinquished. When a State offset may call for as much as \$190,000 annually, a bare statement that the required amount had been raised and spent would not satisfy any responsible fiscal agent, and should not be expected to. The public appropriating such large sums for specific purposes is quite within the proprieties in requiring an accounting which will safeguard its interests. Bookkeeping sometimes gives quite fictitious results. It sometimes misleads administrative officers themselves. A case is recalled two or three years ago in which an examination of the State funds of an experiment station by local officials, to refute a public charge that the station was being used as a cats-paw to secure money for the college, disclosed that about \$25,000, or a quarter of the annual station appropriation, was being diverted to instructional purposes, inadvertently, no doubt, and to meet a pressing need. In 1919 the States reported an aggregate maintenance fund of \$7,192,912 for the experiment stations, which close analysis and interpretation shrunk to a little over \$4,250,000. There was no intention of making misleading returns; they merely represented the accountant's interpretations.

These things suggest the propriety of a type of supervision which goes beyond the books and vouchers to the actual work they stand for.

Coming now more specifically to the problems arising in Governmental administration, it may be said that these have turned

quite largely on the standards implied in the various types of effort—in teaching, in research and in extension, the proper scope of activities, and the restriction of funds to them. Behind such considerations has sometimes been a narrow, provincial view which placed local advantage above all else, a lack of full sympathy with the main idea, or sometimes a personal ambition seeking to develop a broader institution than provided for by the State support.

Such a conflict of human interests and ambitions has not been uncommon in the past. It was evidenced in many cases in the original location of the colleges with little reference to the best conditions for their work, geographically, agriculturally, or otherwise. Politics and local sentiment located most of the agricultural colleges, especially in the newer sections, and frequently did a very bad job which rises up periodically to haunt the institutions and cause uncertainty in plans for their permanent growth. In at least three States there are now movements on foot or in the air to separate the agricultural college or to relocate other parts of the institution. It affects the policy and effectiveness of those institutions, and it brings administrative questions. In several instances only a strong stand on the part of Federal authorities has prevented the separation or the moving of experiment stations to satisfy local ambition. One of the first acts under Federal supervision was to discontinue the dissipation of the Hatch fund among different sections of the States in the maintenance of branch stations and "model" farms.

For years this disadvantage of location has been apparent in the research work of a number of institutions, and it has been necessary to take account of it in the administration of funds. In one State the experiment station was illegally separated from the agricultural college prior to Federal supervision, and became a purely local institution, subject to political domination of the worst type. As a result, the State was in large measure deprived of the advantages which should have accrued from an experiment station, and it failed to contribute to its maintenance. When the situation had become so intolerable as to warrant the Department in an attempt to secure the transfer of the station back to the college, not only was the backing of the State wholly lacking but Congress was induced to legalize the separate arrangement.

Political and local interest have not stopped, however, with the location of institutions. Often their administrative authorities have been under pressure they could not successfully resist, even from the chief executive of the State. It is unnecessary to go back into history to find such instances. In the case of one State college whose Federal funds comprise a large measure of its support, the Governor recently made two complete changes in the

board within nine months, dismissing the old members and appointing new ones, so that the institution had three different boards within a year. That college, organized about 1890, now has its tenth president.

Within the year another State has furnished an exhibition of the upheaval of its college in the enforced resignation or dismissal of its principal administrative officers, together with numerous heads of departments and lesser employees. That college has had seven presidents in the last thirty years, and the experiment station has had to bear the burden of eleven changes in directorship. How can continuity of policy or of research projects be expected under such adverse conditions? The Federal funds have been withheld repeatedly, but without a supporting local sentiment little of permanent advantage can be accomplished. To cite one other case, a State university, organized in 1892, now has its seventh president and the experiment station its ninth director. It is to be hoped that both may be more permanent than their predecessors. The directors of no less than a quarter of the experiment stations have changed during the past twelve months, not all, fortunately, through compulsory action.

It will be readily understood that such administrative "merry-go-rounds" mean real problems for the agency which is seeking to promote steady development and secure increasingly effective use of Federal funds. New administrators have to learn by experience, and in doing so things are done which conflict with precedent and propriety, partly because the relationships of the local institution are not understood. Under such circumstances disallowances cause heartburns which do not make for future amity. At times only a saving sense of humor suffices to preserve equanimity and faith that all is going as well as could be expected.

Another type of problem arises from failure of the States to do their part. In some cases the conditions necessary to carrying out the requirements of the Morrill Act have come but slowly. Examples of this have been especially noticeable in case of some of the colleges for the colored race. In seventeen States separate colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts are maintained for that race under the land grant act. The administration of Federal funds to them has presented a considerable problem. In one instance, for example, the situation became so inadequate it necessitated the proposal to withdraw the entire fund from the State unless proper buildings and funds for administration and maintenance were provided, as a result of which the situation was corrected. In others the local administration has been insistent on stressing mainly other types of education, and governing boards and the local constituency could not be depended upon to correct

the difficulty. It was necessary to require one such college to move from the midst of a large city to a location where necessary land for its agricultural work could be had.

The States have often been slow to realize their part in connection with the experiment stations. There was failure to protect the station funds at a time when the Federal Government was supplying all or nearly all of them; and for a long time the stations were kept alive mainly through Government support. Up to the time the second grant for them came in the Adams Act, the States were appropriating, all told, only a half million dollars, or a third less than the general Government. While there has been great improvement, the appropriation in a quarter of the States amounts to only \$13,000 or less, and six stations receive no State support. This leaves the Government's interest large in those States.

The increasing extent and machinery of regulation by the States of their educational institutions has reached a point where it constitutes an administrative problem. Action of this sort has become so extreme in some cases as to take many of the important matters of administration and the management of funds out of the hands of the board or authorities of the institutions. These regulatory provisions frequently apply to the Federal funds, making it well-nigh impossible to correct errors in assignment after they have been made, and restricting the elasticity in the use of both Federal and State appropriations. In other cases limitations on the State monies tend to make the Federal appropriations a slush fund, used quite largely for items not permitted on the State accounts, such as salaries above a specified amount, out-of-State travel, emergency purchases, and a variety of other purposes. The enforced resort to the Federal funds for miscellaneous items leads to situations calling for special dispensation, and, what is more serious, it prevents those funds from standing for any definite, substantial efforts. Their expenditures are so scattered and fragmentary that any attempt at checking up necessarily leads into the entire work and funds of the feature involved. In the end it is quite unsatisfactory.

The growth of these institutions, or of special features with which we are now concerned, has often reacted on the amount of local administrative attention they have received. With no lack of a general purpose to comply with the spirit of the Federal measures, there is frequently insufficient provision for careful planning and the conservation of funds to their respective purposes. This arises from a certain pooling of efforts, of responsibilities, personnel, and funds, with a liberal exercise of the give-and-take spirit. No question of confidence or judgment may be involved,

but the result is no less disturbing to the representative who is concerned with the fortunes of a particular branch, as for example, the experiment station. It is a plain matter of providing the necessary attention to preserve the different interests, the exercise of discrimination due where a variety of funds are involved, each with its own purpose and limitations. It is one of the most serious problems connected with our experiment stations today.

Akin to this is the divided interest of the members of the force, the mixed duties, the sharing of time between such separate features as research, teaching, and extension. The division of salary among different funds which this entails has always been a potential and frequently an actual source of difficulty. It remains to-day, although manifestly infractions are inexcusable at this stage. It is not that a reasonable combination of teaching and research is objectionable, but that the adjustments are not equitable. Usually this is due to carelessness or inattention, but sometimes it cannot be so explained.

It hardly needs to be said that such administration as the Government attempts to maintain must depend for its success on a sympathetic attitude and cooperation on the part of both parties. Government administration is far less a matter of authority or financial control than it is of counsel and cooperation. This is true, for example, in the matter of research projects of the experiment station. The attempt of the supervising authority to bring these upon a high plane of originality or to a point where they mean definite purposeful inquiry, as required by the Adams Act, calls for the active cooperation of the director, but as a matter of fact, this is frequently conspicuous by its absence, to use a worn phrase. Too often the course followed with a new project is to "try it on the dog," although realizing certain deficiencies and secretly expecting, as subsequently appears, that it will not be accepted without change. In the correspondence following the director functions chiefly as an intermediary. Always a delicate subject with the author of the project it is in danger of becoming a personal matter under such treatment and sometimes leads to unnecessary injury of feelings.

Another tendency to sidestep administrative questions of troublesome possibilities is sometimes seen in the request for opinions and decisions on matters which really fall under the head of local option. These may voice a real desire for counsel, or they may arise from a desire to "pass the buck." There are occasional indications that the opportunity to take refuge behind an absent authority in making unwelcome decisions is appreciated even by administrative officers. With no desire to shirk responsibility and welcoming the opportunity for council, such practice

sometimes leads us into embarrassment and creates an impression higher up of unwarranted meddling in local details. Experience has shown the importance of avoiding the appearance of any such motive.

Again, it is not unusual when administrative officers encounter objections they can not surmount to appeal for rulings or interpretations to support them. To a certain extent official rulings are required, but as these are necessarily broad in their application and become binding on all institutions alike, it has been found desirable to limit them to fundamental questions and not to multiply them unnecessarily. The close contacts maintained between the Federal Departments and the institutions minimize the necessity for such formal pronouncements.

On the other hand, reference may be made to an apparent hesitation at some colleges in delegating authority to subordinate officials in charge of separate features. Beyond certain matters of general policy, it is desirable that the Government agents deal directly with such officers as the directors of the experiment station and the extension service, for the higher administrative officers can hardly expect to keep informed on the technicalities and details involved. These higher officers naturally have control over these subordinates and may rely upon them to present such matters as call for their attention. This, it would seem, would safeguard the institution; but as a matter of fact it is found difficult to get policies and agreements settled, owing to the reaction of higher officers after authority supposedly has been conferred on those in immediate charge. It is a source of no little embarrassment, and gives rise to the continued reopening of questions presumed to have been settled.

In an enterprise like agricultural extension the potentialities for difficulty are increased by its novelty and because it reaches outside the institution, involving the farmers and their local organizations. Questions have constantly arisen which from the standpoint of the single State may seem local but which really are so far reaching that the Department can not avoid concerning itself with them.

Take, for example, the case of the county agents and what they may properly do as agents of the colleges in connection with such matters as cooperative buying and selling organizations among their constituents. The function of extension is to instruct, to supply information, to stimulate various activities among the farmers. Its efforts are for all who will take advantage of them—not for a few who unite and press hardest. When the county agents, yielding to such impulse, become the business officers or agents of buying and selling organizations they enter upon dan-

gerous ground and sooner or later arouse protests from the public which are difficult to satisfy. The Department has taken the position that they should remain outside the actual business transaction and serve in an advisory capacity to the farmers. This has pleased some and dissatisfied others, and the conflict of opinion has resulted in discussion requiring a definite stand.

In all these joint efforts ultimate success must depend, of course, upon getting together around the spirit of the enterprise, what is best for it considered both locally and nationally, and for this reason conference has been carried to an unusual extent. Standardizing and stereotyping need to be avoided, but there are national aspects of policies that need to be considered in connection with the local program. A certain amount of give and take may prove desirable in the interest of what is best for the whole system.

Manifestly, there often needs to be a considerable measure of uniformity in what the Government contends for and aims to accomplish, having always in mind due regard for the varying conditions and requirements of the different States. Justice demands this. It would not be fair to maintain that one State shall follow a certain course and observe certain restrictions, while condoning departures in another. If a measure provides funds to be used for original research, there must be a liberal definition of the term and it must apply to the States alike. The problems will vary, but the general grade of the effort should be fairly uniform.

In this frank presentation of some types of problems which come in a varied experience with forty-eight States, I trust I may not be misunderstood as implying any measure of impatience, discouragement or criticism. There is nothing in the situation to warrant this. On the contrary, the problems of administration have steadily diminished, and the most cordial relations of frankness and desire for mutual understanding prevail.

My purpose has been to show that the Government has an administrative problem, and that it is trying to work it out with as little interference or restriction as possible. It has an interest common to all the states, and between these land grant colleges there is community of interest. The mistakes or improprieties of a few may cast a wider shadow, and result to the disadvantage of the whole. Our problems then are the concern of the entire system. If there were no problems we might indeed be adjudged superfluous.

PROBLEMS OF STATE UNIVERSITIES IN ADMINISTERING FEDERAL FUNDS

By W. O. THOMPSON, *President of Ohio State University*



THE program on this occasion has already directed our attention to the fact of early congressional appropriations for education. From the very beginning the United States Congress appears to have had some sympathetic attitude toward the question of the federal support of education. The land grants, such as two townships in Ohio as the foundation of Ohio University and one township as the foundation of Miami University, indicate the early interest and sympathy with education. It would appear that the belief obtained that the public lands being the common property of the whole people might well be set aside for the benefit of the universal enterprise of the country, namely: the education of the youth. It is not intimated here that this conception was clear in the minds of many people or that it was carried to any logical consistency but rather that this view of public lands was sufficiently recognized to encourage legislation. In many of the commonwealths a somewhat similar view seems to have prevailed and public lands have been set aside for the maintenance and support of public schools and education. The more recent views of federal aid are based on a somewhat different conception. They seem now to look to the elimination of ignorance, illiteracy and the development of industry and skill as fundamental in the maintenance of national efficiency and national welfare. It is in a sense, therefore, the belief in the doctrine of self-preservation.

It is a well-known fact, however, that two divergent views have obtained among legislators. The one is that education is a function of the state and that as such should not be interrupted or interfered with by any federal legislation. The Morrill Act under the administration of Buchanan received a veto chiefly on this ground that it was an interference with the prerogative of the state.

The other view has been that the federal government and the nation at large should lend some aid and support to the cause of public education, and this theory is based upon the belief that education is not local in its origin or local in its final effects. The belief obtains that the fundamental theory of the federal government having the power to lay its hand upon the individual in the enforcement of law and in the defense of the country, has the

equal duty and obligation to reach this same individual with such facilities and assistance as will enable him to become a representative and reliable citizen. In addition to this theory there is a somewhat current belief that large portions of the revenue for the federal government are collected from individuals and from commonwealths so that the return to the country by way of appropriations of a certain portion of the money collected does not violate any fundamental principle. In the progress of our history both of these views have undergone some modification and we find ourselves now in a position where the federal government has a history of support through existing institutions. The most important and the most direct of these contributions are, of course, the Land Grant Colleges, the Agricultural Experiment Stations, the Smith-Lever Agricultural Extension Act and such moneys as are utilized through state institutions for the carrying out of the provisions of the federal vocational education bill, the rehabilitation bill and the guidance school for soldiers. One of these bills is frankly a cooperation with the states through state agencies in the aid of public schools in the interest of a particular type of education. The others are temporary and passing efforts to improve the condition of returned soldiers and, therefore, do not come under consideration as involving any of the permanent policies of the government or of the states.

The proposals recently made for the establishment of a department of education with a cabinet member at its head and the appropriation of money involved the enlargement of the sphere of the Bureau of Education, the better recognition of education within the government and the expenditure of considerable sums of money for the purpose of making education more efficient as a great national enterprise. It is becoming increasingly obvious, therefore, that whatever views may be held concerning state education there is a continual emphasis upon the fact that education is a national issue. If this view prevails we may, therefore, expect that national revenues will be increasingly used and that the problems of the relations between national and state agencies will increase in importance.

It may be worth while in a preliminary way to state that in general the experience developed through the federal aid to education has been less troublesome than might have been expected. The experience would not seem to indicate that federal aid should be discontinued but rather that it should be so granted as to preserve the freedom and justifiable autonomy of the states. The discussion of the most recent proposals of federal aid have brought forward this consideration as one of the grounds of opposing the original form in which the bill was introduced propos-

ing a department of education. There is no doubt that in the passing of the years a decided tendency has developed for the federal government to encroach upon the state. The theory of sovereignty in the local state has been somewhat modified since the era of the Civil War. Indeed if the issue ever came there could be no question about the sovereignty of the federal government. This being once granted there is always room for debate as to how far the individual states are sovereign in the control of activities within their own boundaries. Some confusion has arisen from the activities of national bodies like the Interstate Commerce Commission and other similar organizations proposed from time to time. We are not to be surprised, therefore, if in the administration of federal aid to the states some serious problems should arise. We are pleased rather that the problems that do arise are not more serious than they are.

In general it may be said that the problems of the state universities in administering federal aid fall under two heads; first, the legal problems, and, second, the administrative problems.

The legal problems usually arise out of the interpretation of the statutes. These interpretations are apt to be somewhat technical on the one hand, while on the other hand the representatives of the federal government are tempted and perhaps disposed to quote the debates in Congress as expressing the intentions of Congress in enacting legislation. Nothing is more obvious, however, than that the acts of Congress as written into law do not correspond very closely to the more or less incoherent debates that occur prior to the passing of the legislation. The discussion over the place as well as the importance of the specialist in agricultural extension work is a good example of an honest difference of opinion. The college ordinarily believes such men to be essential to the highest efficiency of the county agent. The congressional mind is apt to regard the county agent as the all-sufficient official much as in the older days a college graduate was expected to be able to teach anything that was necessary in a college curriculum. Liberty, therefore, of progress is essential in the administration of either money or of education.

Nevertheless these two situations do bring about some difficulty in knowing precisely what a statute authorizes and directs. Moreover, in the history of any statute it frequently develops that but one phase of it is under consideration at a given time. A decision is probably reached on that particular phase of the statute. Subsequently, and probably under another and different administration and with a new official in charge some other paragraph or phase of the statute is up for interpretation and the new official may easily be entirely innocent of any information as to

the past experience of the government in operating the law. The experience with the Hatch Act on the part of the Experiment Stations was such that when the Adams Act was passed certain strictures were made for the purpose of avoiding interpretations obtaining concerning the provisions of the Hatch Act. A somewhat similar situation developed when in passing the Second Morrill Act a restriction was placed upon the uses to be made of the funds provided in that Act. In the Smith-Lever Agricultural Extension Act a very decided tendency was developed to interpret the Act in accordance with the declarations of members of Congress while the bill was under debate. It was perfectly obvious to intelligent men that the general field of agricultural extension was not well defined in the minds of many and that there was great danger that the statute might be so interpreted as to prevent any progress or adjustment to new conditions. If the judgment of some men had been followed the practices in many states would have been forever tied down to methods long after they were outgrown and obsolete. The spirit of a statute is the abiding thing while in all agricultural education the form must be adjusted to the need as developed from year to year. These legal interpretations of the statutes form the basis on which all educational practices must proceed.

Speaking generally, the administrative problems arise out of an effort to conform the actual practices locally to the legal interpretations of the statute as made by the representatives of the federal government. The fact that the federal government itself has no comprehensive method of dealing with its appropriations has probably led in some degree to a great diversity of practice among the departments and bureaus at Washington. The fact that education is dealt with through three or more departments will suggest at once the necessity of mutual understandings and agreements. The Association of Agricultural Colleges, now known as the Land Grant College Association, undertook some years ago to have a memorandum of understanding between the United States Department of Agriculture and the colleges and Experiment Stations in order that there might grow up a series of rulings and interpretations consistent with a just administration of the agricultural extension act and a proper consideration of the local interests.

Speaking for the moment with special reference to the agricultural extension act because it is the most outstanding at present, one may say that the problems here are undergoing a process of solution. At the outset it was a question of book-keeping. The effort made to expend this money under what was known as the project system rendered it somewhat difficult for the ordi-

nary institution to have its accounts in such shape as to present its bills in harmony with the interpretation of projects as made in Washington. This and other factors presented another problem in the way of delay in payment. The examiners whose business it was to check up on accounts could not always report promptly on time for service and when reports were submitted and subjected to criticism the time for revision made a delay necessary. Furthermore, the examiners and inspectors changed from time to time of necessity, and few of them were informed as to judgments of their predecessors. In many instances accounts had been allowed to be disallowed later. The customs of one year were not always consistent with the customs of a preceding year or a succeeding year. The local officials in the universities have not always found it easy to know just what was desired on the part of the federal government. These discussions concerning the details of the expenditure of money are not fundamental but they are extremely annoying and cause inconvenience to the institution receiving the delayed payments.

In the earlier days, at any rate, there was a slight tendency recognized on the part of federal authorities to control appointments and salaries. Happily this tendency is declining. It is quite natural, however, for the power of the purse to assert itself concerning the personnel to whom the money eventually goes. It became very obvious, however, that in the local appointments to state service the institution immediately in charge was the more responsible and that wise administration required that the responsibility be centered upon the institution of the state. Persons familiar with the experience will recall that salaries of extension workers were quite out of range for a time with the salaries of teachers with a superior education and experience. It is probably true that the federal authorities did not altogether appreciate the embarrassments arising out of the adjustments of salaries. In the long run there will be greater flexibility in salaries controlled and directed by state authorities than in those controlled through congressional act or federal interpretation.

In this connection a suggestion may be offered that there develops a natural tendency to control the character of the service to be rendered by extension workers. It is easy to see that from the standpoint of wider experience federal officers from Washington might disagree in judgment with local state officials as to the kind of service to be rendered in the country at large. It is conceivable that they may have greater wisdom as to the needs of particular states than officials living in those states. This, however, would not be a normal situation. The cure for such a situation would be worse than the disease itself. The final respon-

sibility for the character of service to be rendered in the general field of education locally must rest with the local authorities; otherwise education will fail to develop its very best fruits. The administrative problem, therefore, between the federal government and state governments on such issues must recognize the superior responsibility of the state officials.

This leads me to say that in the administration between federal and state authorities there is manifest a tendency to neglect the important matter of co-ordinating all educational activities. The federal government is interested, for example, in pushing the cause of education in the trades and industries. Or perhaps in some vocational form of education. In order to carry the program into effect the state must cooperate in providing funds. These funds must be exclusively used for the specific purpose named in the Act. This may throw out of balance the program of education in a particular community or it may not. It may thrust into a pretty well established program a factor however valuable in itself that does not fit with the general program of the community. It may also disturb the financial balance of the budget of a board of education. At this point the federal government is apt to be exacting, somewhat technical in its interpretations and a little indifferent toward anything else than that in which the statute has expressed an interest. When we recall that education as a universal and community-wide program must keep the entire community within its horizon we can understand the disturbing effect of a particular feature of education somewhat more strongly supported than the general features of the community program. In a considerable number of communities a certain reaction has been discovered already amounting to discontent which is liable to terminate in discrediting the forms of education to which the federal government is committed.

I may speak briefly of a concrete instance as illustrating a small and somewhat unimportant situation. For example, five percent had been allowed for publications. Under this statute a given estimate had been made for the expense of the publication. When the bills were presented they exceeded the estimate but still fell below the five percent authorized in the statute. Such an item was not allowed by federal authorities. The petty annoyance of adjusting a situation like that is not serious but suggests what has already been hinted in this paper that technical interpretations and differing methods of accounting often retard the promptness of the service and through the dissatisfaction created discount the efficiency of the enterprise.

The experience of the Experiment Stations with the Hatch and Adams Acts is now of so long standing that the more serious

administrative difficulties have been disposed of. The experience with the administration of the funds from the Morrill Act presents little trouble for the chief reason that this money is usually expended for salaries. The rapid growth of the institutions and the development of their salary fund has made it rather easy in most cases to assign the Morrill funds to salaries and thus avoid a large number of administrative difficulties in checking up other forms of expenditures.

The Smith-Hughes Act has presented very few administrative difficulties for the reason that it has been administered under an agency which has provided for the advanced payment of bills and the reimbursement for the local authorities at stated periods. The project system and a reasonably clear understanding between the federal and state authorities has made this kind of administration rather easy. The State Board of Education which has usually been the agency through which this bill has been administered seems to have been confronted with fewer administrative problems. The reason will at once be recognized, namely: that the work provided under this Act is much more simple than the work provided under so comprehensive an act as the Agricultural Extension Service. The variety of activity possible under such a title as agricultural extension has raised in every community its own agricultural extension problems.

There are two other forms of education in which many of the Land Grant Colleges and State Universities have been interested. The Guidance School is a school for the education of soldiers not prepared for university work but too advanced in years to be properly within the administration of elementary or high schools. Furthermore these candidates are not easily classified upon any educational basis. It results, therefore, in much individual instruction, some direction and guidance, together with an effort to suit the course of instruction to the needs or tastes of the particular soldier. This is a temporary phase of federal interest and no doubt has reached its maximum in attendance. The guarantee, for example, at Ohio State University for this year is 50; the actual attendance is 24. This feature of education, therefore, will soon disappear from further consideration.

The other movement for the education of disabled soldiers will run its course in a few years and probably reach its maximum either this year or next year. There are some problems in the administration of the funds for such education. I have had brought to my attention the fact that vouchers have been objected to but later agreed to when the terms of the contract had

been made the subject of discussion and agreement. The same tendency here to be technical in interpretation as elsewhere has presented problems that are somewhat unfortunate inasmuch as they tend to increase a discontented state of mind altogether too obvious in the returned soldier. In an instance passing under my own observation objection was made by the federal government to the payment of a fee for a locker in a gymnasium. Physical education was down as a requirement but for some reason the catalog had not stated that a fee was necessary. Out of this grew a controversy. Penalties for late registration or for other infringement of rules cannot be enforced on the technical interpretation that the government cannot be penalized. The fact that the government pays a bill seems to carry with it the government's own right to interpret what is proper or improper, legal or illegal.

I would not have you understand that these unimportant details are presented for the purpose of magnifying them. They are presented rather for the purpose of illustrating how very easily a controversy arises over the interpretation of statutes and how difficult it is to administer funds for such purposes in the same way in which you administer the rules obtaining in the case of the ordinary student at the University. In other words, the fact that one is under the direct jurisdiction of the United States seems to carry with it in the minds of many the feeling that ordinary rules do not obtain and cannot be enforced. This same point of view often obtains with reference to the larger issues of administration and the more important principles involved in the adjustment of educational theory between the federal and the state governments. Experience, therefore, would seem to indicate that unless the federal government can see its way clear to leave a large amount of discretion in the authorities representing the state there is good reason to doubt the wisdom of cooperative effort in the field of education. This position will be strengthened from year to year as the educational experience of the states develops. More than once has the sentiment been expressed in the meetings of the National Association of State Universities that great diversity is highly desirable among the state universities. Prominent men in this organization have asserted that their experience as well as their observation convinces them that any effort at uniformity among state universities would in the end prove hurtful rather than helpful. In other words, these men seem to believe profoundly that the great function of a state university is to render the service demanded or needed by the conditions existing in a particular commonwealth. This theory is not precisely the theory upon which the ordinary college on a

private foundation proceeds. These colleges seem to assume that they have a particular mission with reference to education, with reference to leadership of educated persons and with reference to the maintenance of certain educational ideals and traditions. On the other hand, the state university is coming to feel with increasing emphasis that its great fundamental mission is to render a service to the people of the commonwealth through its organized educational agencies.

Unless I misinterpret the sentiment among public school men throughout the country, it is clear that they are steadily coming to the belief that the mission of the public educational institution is to discover if possible the needs of society and to minister to these needs through an education adapted to the situation. They believe that such a process will create the highest ideals in education and develop the greatest national strength. If such a point of view is to be accepted as correct, then the federal government will immeasurably fail if it undertakes to insist upon the domination or control of education through acts of Congress or a federal agency. There always will be a place for federal supervision and inspection but a much smaller place for federal control. The administration, therefore, of education whatever form it may take should recognize the administrative importance of the commonwealth as superior to the importance of the federal government. As a matter of fact, by far the greater portion of the revenues must eventually be collected locally. The administration of the entire sums devoted to education requires that each community make an accounting to itself, a deliberate study of its program and be responsible for a suitable administration of the funds. The function of the federal government, therefore, in such connection is that of supplementary service based upon the national need for education.

DISCUSSION

After President Thompson had finished reading his paper, the whole matter of Federal legislation bearing on education was thrown open to discussion.

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We have all been impressed with the fact that the formal papers presented at this conference have clearly indicated the major problems involved in Federal aid to education. There are, however, one or two phases of the question which may be still further emphasized.

A great many officials who deal with the Federal Government in educational matters where control by the Federal authorities is attempted believe that the Federal administration is interfering with the efficiency of the work. There is also a small group of people who are opposed to administration of any sort. From their point of view a university president is a necessary evil, while deans and directors of scientific research are unnecessary evils. It is obvious that this group would be opposed to Federal administration or any other sort of control.

I am particularly interested in the relation of the Federal Government to scientific research and agricultural extension. Federal funds now available for scientific research in Land Grant institutions have been subjected to little administration by the Federal authorities. There has been no effort to control research. These funds, moreover, are not appropriated by the Federal Government on condition that the states appropriate an equal amount. Experience has demonstrated that this method of Federal aid to scientific research has resulted in nothing but good. The small appropriation from the Federal Government has been duplicated many times by the states. Practically every state in the Federal Union now appropriates more money for agricultural research than is received from the Federal Government.

The same situation obtains in connection with the Morrill funds for teaching. These funds are given to the states outright. They are not subject to state offset. The states have appropriated much more for teaching agriculture in the Land Grant colleges than has been received by the states from the Federal Government.

The appropriations for agricultural extension, however, are on an entirely different basis, both from the standpoint of acceptance by the state and from the standpoint of Federal control. The moneys appropriated for agricultural extension are given to the states on condition that the states appropriate an equal amount. The Federal Government has controlled not only the Federal funds appropriated to the states, but indirectly the money appropriated by the states themselves. This policy of Federal control has not been productive of good. It is opposed by those who are most concerned and it has not resulted in increasing the efficiency of the extension work.

It is my opinion that the principle is wrong. No Federal appropriation to the states should be so made that further appropriation for the same purpose made by the states shall come under Federal control. It is wholly impossible for a Federal official located in Washington to effectively administer or control agricultural extension or agricultural research in such widely separated districts requiring such widely different methods and subjects of research or extension.

Under the law the extension work is supposed to be cooperative between the Federal Government and the states. This, however, is a misnomer. Cooperation is a mutual arrangement, each party to the cooperation having equal powers and the final policies are the result of mutual concessions and compromise. But the agricultural extension work as now administered by the Federal Department of Agriculture is in no sense cooperative. The states do not have an equal rank in the negotiations. It is doubtful whether cooperation in

any proper sense of the term can ever be arranged between the Federal Government and a state, because in the last analysis the Federal Government must be supreme in its authority. For administrative reasons it is more convenient to organize a machine for conducting extension work which shall be the same in each state. This machine must be used whether it is satisfactory to a particular state or not. It is my opinion that Federal control of agricultural extension has not been wholly satisfactory and cannot be. In making this statement, however, I want it to be distinctly understood that I am not criticising any official of the Federal Government or suggesting that they have not sincerely tried to remove all the objections possible. It is the system that is wrong.

Dean CHARLES E. CHADSEY, *University of Illinois*

The very fact that we have called this conference must indicate that there are two sides to this whole matter and that we are here not for the purpose of absolutely determining that one line of thought eliminates the other, but for the purpose of seeing whether out of this conference there may not come a unity of judgment to enable us to go forward and accomplish things worth while.

I have spent most of my life in education in the administration of public schools and I have been thinking along these lines. Therefore, very largely from that point of view and the contacts which I have had with public school men and with public school problems, I realize that there is on the part of the public school people of the country a strong desire that we may eventually secure a Department of Education with a Secretary in the Cabinet. That is a matter of common knowledge. It is something which has been before educational gatherings for twenty-five years. I think that one of the reasons that has made many public school men believe in this has been a conviction that the Bureau of Education with its very limited resources has been unable to do as much for education as it ought to do, and that education as one of the great interests of the state and nation has not been properly supported in a national way. There has been a desire to see in Washington an organization which could in a very systematic way indicate the study of educational problems to better advantage than they can be undertaken with state organizations or local assistance.

I have come in contact with the Smith-Hughes Bill, when certain Boards of Education had their budgets thrown out of proportion. Teachers of agricultural education have received larger salaries than the superintendent. Things of that sort are annoying. I am wondering whether it is not possible after all to develop a department of education which may do many of these things which I know many of the educators wish to have done, which may provide for a study which has not characterized much of the work of the Bureau of Education and which may at the same time eliminate these features. In other words, do the objections which have been presented as to the fifty-fifty plan carry with them the necessity of disapproving the idea of a Federal Department of Education? Or is it possible to separate these questions in some permanent fashion so that there may be the recognition of the importance of education nationally and get an elimination of the evils which can easily develop?

HUGH S. MAGILL, *Field Secretary, National Education Association*

I am much impressed with what Dr. Chadsey has just said. As a representative of the National Education Association, I wish to say that the Association is definitely committed in opposition to Federal control of education within the states. Its position on this subject has been expressed definitely in resolutions adopted repeatedly at its annual conventions. The Association favors a Department of Education with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet, and Federal aid so administered as not to interfere with the conduct and management of education by state and local educational authorities. After a careful study of this question I am thoroughly convinced that such a plan can be carried out satisfactorily.

Attention has been called to the early Federal Grants for education contained in the Morrill Act, the Hatch Act, and others. We have been reminded that the first act proposing Federal aid was vetoed by President Buchanan on the ground that it was an encroachment upon the doctrine of States' Rights, but that this act in practically the same form was later repassed by Congress and signed by President Lincoln. Dean Davenport pointed out clearly in his splendid address the great benefits that had accrued to education as a result of these acts. It is conceded that in the more recent Federal aid bills, the Smith-Lever and the Smith-Hughes Acts, there has been more of Federal supervision and that because of this fact there are those who have become somewhat suspicious of Federal participation in the promotion of education. President Thompson has pointed out some of the annoyances that have been encountered in the administration of these later acts, but he did not lead us to conclude that because of these minor annoyances Federal aid to education, even under the provisions of the Smith-Lever and the Smith-Hughes Acts, has not proven advantageous to education in the states.

President Kinley called attention in his address last night to instances of friction between the University and the Federal Government in the administration of Federal grants. But I think it could be shown that this University has not encountered greater difficulty in dealing with the Federal Government than it has in dealing with the Illinois State Legislature. To be perfectly fair, we must recognize that differences of opinion are sure to arise, and that because of such differences we are not justified in concluding that cooperation is impossible. I remember very well when I was a member of the Illinois Senate that President James and Dean Kinley at that time pointed out to me the embarrassment caused to the University by the fact that the Legislature was so specific in making its appropriations. It frequently happened in the administration of the affairs of the University that certain departments would have a surplus of funds, while other departments would be greatly hampered for need of funds, but it was impossible to transfer funds from where they were not needed to places where they were greatly needed because of specific action taken by the Legislature.

I want to call your particular attention to the fact that the Towner-Sterling bill, creating a Department of Education and providing Federal aid to the states for the promotion of education, provides specifically that all funds apportioned to the respective states shall be distributed and administered in accordance with state laws. I wish to quote the provisions of the bill on this subject:

"All funds apportioned to a State shall be distributed and administered in accordance with the laws of said State in like manner as the funds provided by State and local authorities for the same purpose, and the State and local educational authorities of said State shall determine the courses of study, plans, and methods for carrying out the purposes of this act within said State in accordance with the laws thereof."

Also the following:

"Provided, That all the educational facilities encouraged by the provisions of this Act and accepted by a State shall be organized, supervised, and administered exclusively by the legally constituted State and local educational authorities of said State, and the Secretary of Education shall exercise no authority in relation thereto; and this Act shall not be construed to imply Federal control of education within the States, nor to impair the freedom of the States in the conduct and management of their respective school systems."

It seems to me the whole problem resolves itself into this simple question: Can Federal aid be granted to the states for the promotion of education without interfering with the constitutional right of the state to control its educational system? We must all agree that under the provisions of the Federal constitution the control of education within a state is exclusively a state function. I

think we must also agree that in accordance with the terms of the Towner-Sterling bill this constitutional right of the state is very fully and definitely preserved. President Kinley stated yesterday at the close of Dr. Capen's address that in his opinion if the Federal Government granted money to the states for the promotion of education, it would necessarily result in Federal control, notwithstanding the specific provisions within the Act to the contrary. I am not willing to accept President Kinley's views on this subject. I believe that laws must be administered in accordance with the provisions of law. Every administrative officer and every court is so bound by oath. It is, to say the least, a sad commentary on free government to hold that it is impossible to carry out the provisions of the Federal Constitution and the definite provisions of an act of Congress.

The justification for free schools supported by public taxation is the development of a more intelligent citizenship, but the state can be no more interested in the development of its citizenship than is the Federal Government. The citizenship of our Nation as a whole is but the aggregate citizenship of all the states. The Federal Government can well afford to promote education within the states, even though the control of education must be left exclusively under state control, on the ground that the Nation will share with the states the benefits accruing from education.

Under the provisions of the Towner-Sterling bill Federal cooperation in support of education rests on the assumption that each state may be depended upon to wisely expend money appropriated by the Federal Government because the money so appropriated must be expended in the same manner as the money provided for the same purpose by state and local authorities. Each state is permitted to spend its Federal grant exactly as it spends its own money, and the Federal Government will share the results accruing therefrom in a more intelligent citizenry.

I am a citizen of Illinois, born and raised in Illinois. I love my home state. I love this University. But I love my country more, and I have faith in the ability of our Nation to cooperate successfully with the states in the promotion of that which alone can make America equal to the great tasks which lie before her. Who will question that the future of America depends very largely upon the character of her citizens; that the intelligence and strength of that citizenship must depend very largely upon education; that while under our dual form of government the conduct of public education is a function of the state, nevertheless the Nation cannot escape the disastrous results which must follow a lack of education; and that because of these facts our Nation for its own prosperity and security should aid and encourage the states in the promotion of education.

W. S. SUTTON, *Dean, College of Education, University of Texas,
Austin, Texas*

I think it is perfectly clear that everybody here loves the United States government; at any rate, it is not in order to question anybody's loyalty. I have lived in the South all my life. I happened accidentally to be the son of a Confederate soldier; but it would be scandalous if I should make up my judgments on account of my geographical location or my ancestry. The question at issue is not whether we love the national or the state government. It is not a question of mere expediency, involving only educational matters, but one of politics and government. There is much difference of opinion, and to thresh out the many disagreements would keep us here three or four weeks instead of two days.

In the first place, it is fundamentally wrong, this new scheme for the promotion of education by the United States government, because it tends to a very disreputable sort of ambition—the desire to get something for nothing. I am opposed, emphatically to the fifty-fifty basis. We don't get the fifty as a gift, anyway; it is our money we get back. It takes a great deal of money,

furthermore, to collect it, to keep the books, and to send reports back and forth, etc. This fifty-fifty business is as bad for education as for religion. The original plan of salvation differs widely from that which some people employ these days. The original plan as announced by its founder was very simple and easily understood. The new plan may be described as follows: A big-lunged, well-fed professional uplifter gathers a crowd around him and says, "Hear me. Seats in the skies are going at a dollar apiece; if one of you people wishes to cinch a seat, put up a half dollar, and I will get some pious rich man to put up the other half." Truly, we ought not to be bribed to our duty in religion or education.

One of the real questions involved in the problem before this conference, is whether or not the United States Government ought to be engaged in the school affairs of the several states. Perhaps it ought. My view may be entirely wrong for I believe the constitution forbids such activity, but that is of but little consequence to a large number of teachers, for they have never even so much as read that historic document. Our constitution may be altogether wrong; if it is a league with hell, we ought to amend it. This reminds me of a story about one of the former Governors of Texas, Oran M. Roberts. A gentleman went into his office one day and said, "Look here, Governor, the State of Texas is going to hell." Whereupon the Governor replied, "She may be going to hell; but, if she goes during my administration, she will go according to law."

A few months ago I took a few days off trying to determine whether the Towner-Sterling fifty-fifty plan be constitutional. I first made an investigation to discover if the courts had ever decided that matter. They have decided everything else; but they have been absolutely silent on this thing. On account of this silence some fifty-fifty apostles have declared the bill is, therefore, constitutional. If one has never been caught and tried for theft, it is positive proof that he has never stolen anything, is a kind of logic these apostles affect. What does the silence of the courts really mean? Simply this, that no one has ever been disposed to appeal to the courts on this point, and that we are always ready to take the money, and we don't care whether it be constitutional or unconstitutional, right or wrong.

The peril of America, in the judgment of many thoughtful people, is not to be found in the I. W. W's. It is to be found somewhere else. It is the love of money that is the bottom of the trouble, and I fear any educational policy that will tempt the cupidity of man.

One more thing about the constitutionality of the Towner-Sterling Bill. Some time ago I was looking through a book entitled "Congressional Government," written by a great man, a great scholar and one of the great prophets and priests of democracy, Woodrow Wilson. In that work he contends that changing the constitution is such a difficult task, that the machinery is so complicated that it is practically impossible to amend the Constitution except by revolution, that, in consequence we have arranged a frame-work of fictions by which we can change the constitution unconstitutionally. Rather a strange doctrine to be preached by the successor of Jefferson and Madison isn't it? Furthermore, Mr. Wilson, for whom all Americans and all lovers of liberty throughout the world should entertain the profoundest respect, was, nevertheless, certainly mistaken concerning the difficulty of amending the constitution, for, since the publication of his book, that instrument has been amended in a perfectly legal, peaceful, regular way four times. Now, inasmuch as our government is one of law, not of men, I seriously object to amending the constitution surreptitiously or illegally.

Another objection to the fifty-fifty plan of Federal and state cooperation in the educational affairs of the states is that the latter do not need outside aid, and should be too self-respecting either to ask for it or to receive it. There is no state in the American Union so poverty-stricken and so steeped in illiter-

acy and stupidity as to be unable to maintain a respectably efficient system of public education.

Again the friends of the fifty-fifty policy, I fear were influenced unduly by some of our educational troubles revealed by the World War, and were, therefore, impelled by a kind of hysteria to seek to destroy, almost over night, illiteracy, feebleness of body, inefficiency in teachers, civic defects in citizens of foreign descent, and any other afflictions removable by rapid-firing processes of education enjoying the benevolent oversight and the generous grants-in-aid of the Federal government. Our friends are in too great a hurry. A boy in college does not object to being rushed; but a moderately level-headed college professor is decidedly opposed to the adoption of a far-reaching policy before it has been given careful and protracted and dispassionate consideration. If the National Education Association could, in ten years, induce Congress to pass a bill which would provide for the effective functioning of the legitimate educational activities of our national government, it would, in my opinion, render in record-breaking time a service far greater than it has rendered in all the years of its history or than its present effort to put over a measure, the merits of which have not yet been threshed out. Let me suggest that, to a mind not distraught by war-hysteria, it does not seem absolutely necessary that the Towner-Sterling Bill or any bill of similar scope and purport be adopted this year or even next. The country, I am sure, will survive for some years to come, either with or without the aid of the bill. The great majority of our race are inclined to take their "bills," as well as themselves, too seriously.

Many other criticisms can be justly made against such measures as the Towner-Sterling Bill; but I shall not trespass upon your time and patience longer than to express the opinion, which is firmly lodged in the minds of some rather thoughtful American citizens, that the increasing multiplication of Federal activities in matters which belong to the states is a real danger. This is the belief of such representative public men as Elihu Root, and President Harding. The gentleman first named, in an address made in 1916 before the American Bar Association, emphatically condemned the interference of the national government in the affairs of the states. In his judgment it will destroy the balance of our dual form of government, and will result in the enfeebling of the states, and finally and inevitably, in the breaking up of the Union. President Harding, in his Plymouth Rock address declared that the greatest menace to our country to-day is the growing centralization of power in Washington, thus encouraging Congress to undertake duties which the forty-eight states should eventually discharge.

Now, let it be clearly understood that those who favor the preservation of state sovereignty are by no means wanting in loyalty to the Union. The fact is that one of the chief reasons why they protest against the exercise by Congress of powers not granted to it by the Constitution, is that it is hoped such opposition will assist in preserving unimpaired for future generations the Federal government as builded by the founders of this great American republic. Because we believe that our country is of far greater importance than even educational systems, we should not be considered as enemies of either the Union or public education. On the other hand, we should be given credit for both patriotism and sense, for, as that great United States Senator from Georgia, Ben Hill, once declared, "He who saves his country saves all things, and all things saved do bless him. He who lets his country die, lets all things die, and all things dying curse him."

WILLIAM OXLEY THOMPSON, President, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

We are talking in this conference largely on the experience of men who have had administrative questions to solve. We are now entering upon a question that becomes a matter of public policy because of the seriousness of the enactments calling for money and we do not know whether the next enactment will be in accordance with the educational bill. We are thinking of the general policy of the Federal Government. Most of us realize the importance of educa-

tion and want to have a dignified representative of education. We do not know whether a member of the cabinet would represent that dignity. The cabinet officers are subject to criticism. I have a great regard for individual people, but cabinet officers are always temporary officials. I do not want to pin my faith on the future of education to any cabinet man or president. Separation of governmental affairs has not always completely satisfied the people.

G. H. REAVIS, *Dean of the School of Education, University of Pittsburgh*

No one up to date had questioned the advisability of a Department of Education in the federal government with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet. No speaker questioned it yesterday and at least one of them discussed it as possibly a good thing to have; and he discussed it through his address as though it were a probability. I thought that the attitude of this conference on the whole matter was that federal appropriation was a fine thing for the land grant colleges. So far as it has come down to state universities, it has done a most admirable thing and the state university is largely a result of it, but I might infer from some things that have been said that the state university is afraid to let anybody else have the things that have made it great. Nobody questions the advisability of a Secretary of Education in the President's Cabinet. The two big points raised against the program of the National Educational Association are (a) That it may be a bad policy to appropriate large sums to the states on a fifty-fifty basis because they may come dangerously near draining all the state's revenue and thereby stunt something else in the state of today; and (b) If we put up a fifty-fifty appropriation, plans of control are bound to go with it.

The bill we are discussing does not propose that a state must increase its appropriation for education for any of these lines. It merely says you can not take this money and spend it unless you are spending your own money for the same purpose. Several of the states are already spending enough so that the funds will match federal funds; and the state that is not providing enough of that sort of activity would have to put up more than it does now if it wants the federal money. It is voluntary with the state.

I am not a student of political economy; but if it is a fact that the Federal Government of these United States cannot make a law giving the states this help and encouragement, without controlling education, it is a sad commentary on democracy—that the will of the people can not get expression under our form of government. Great states like Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York can have school systems such as they have and universities such as this, while Tennessee, Mississippi, and others have no such educational opportunities, and should be helped.

EUGENE DAVENPORT, *College of Agriculture, University of Illinois*

It is highly important that our discussion should not be confused by unimportant details but rather that we analyze the problem of Federal aid to education in order to discover the principles involved. I take it any one of three reasons may impel Congress to subsidize education in the states of the Union.

1. A desire to promote a particular piece of Federal work, as, for example, the military instruction in the Land Grant colleges.
2. A desire to equalize educational opportunity as between the people of the richer and those of the poorer states.
3. To initiate and, in its early days, to stimulate some form of educational activity, as in the case of the original Land Grant Act.

It is perfectly clear that each of these three occasions for Federal subsidy must carry its own peculiar problem. For example, it is inconceivable that the Federal Government will turn over to forty-eight separate states the policy of conducting military education and training. Whatever constitutional preroga-

tives belong to the states, they will clearly be waived in accepting this money from Federal sources.

The proposition to equalize educational opportunity by taking money from the richer states and turning it over to the poorer is a thoroughly debatable one. It is conceivable but not likely that Congress will appropriate funds for this purpose without requiring an accounting from those to whom the money goes.

Our chief trouble has arisen under the third heading; namely, the promotion of some new idea considered as promoting public welfare. It is here that the fifty-fifty proposition has arisen and because the amounts involved may become very large or the lines of activity exceedingly numerous, the question has arisen in later months whether a state can maintain an educational policy of its own in the face of rapidly multiplying and growing Federal appropriations, however worthy they may be.

JOHN HENRY MACCRACKEN, *President, Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania*

I have been interested in the relation of the Federal Government to education for a number of years and yet have not been connected with a state institution nor had to do with Federal or State vouchers except during the war. As one who has believed strongly in the creation of a Federal Department of Education, I think it unfortunate if the appropriation feature of the Towner-Sterling bill should be permitted to obscure what I regard as the most important and most fundamental aspect of the subject. I am interested in the place of education in the Federal Government, not only for education's sake, but still more so for the sake of the Nation. I do not believe that we can have an adequate national government unless education has an opportunity to voice its sentiments and to take a share in the councils of the nation which shall be at least as potent as the voice of agriculture or of industry or of labor. I come from the same stock as President Kinley and I am adverse by nature to the extension of the functions of Government. I think that President Kinley would agree with me that our instinctive nature is to favor what we might call the "umpire theory of government." It is the business of the government according to this theory to ensure a fair field, see that nobody interferes with the contestants, and then to leave the best men free to win. That is the extreme, individualist, Scotch theory of government and it is that theory of government which in the forming of our constitution prevented the United States from having a state church. Not that the Scotch were not interested in the church, but they felt that the government should not restrain the church. There is growing up at the other extreme the notion that we need a common agency for all social betterment and that that agency should be the agency of government, either state or nation. I am sure that President Kinley and I shall never reach that extreme position in favor of a governmental agency as the chief instrument for social amelioration. I am forced to accept the middle ground in the present condition of things in the United States which I think has been well expressed by the sociologist, Bentley, who says the essence of all government is the struggle of interest groups with each other. Democracy exists only where every interest and group can express itself and secure representation for itself in a fair and equitable manner.

We see growing up a government which is representative in a new sense. There is growing up a government outside the government. Representation on a geographical basis is being replaced by this government of group interests represented by special agents in Washington.

The interests of education, the kind of temper of our scientific men, are elements of our civilization which we cannot afford not to have represented in this conflict of interests at Washington. Those who were in Washington during the war felt that college professors and men of scientific mind could do much for governmental affairs. If we can bring more of that scientific mind permanently

into our national government, it will be better for the government as a whole. I agree with President Thompson that there is some question about the permanency of the cabinet officer and as to his ultimate fame, but I know of no better method of giving education adequate representation as government is now organized, no better way to give it a voice in the affairs of the government, than by placing a secretary in the cabinet. Therefore I strongly favor the Towner-Sterling Bill so far as it creates a department of education. I consider this a broad governmental question to be settled altogether apart from the question of appropriations. Tarde says that there are only two possible forms of political institutions: (1) Teleocracy or a sovereignty of desires and (2) Ideocracy, or a dominion of ideas. I believe that if there is any chance of having an ideocracy in our government, it must come in the Department of Education. If educated men do not believe that ideas can dominate wealth, no one else certainly will attain that belief and the very foundation stone of a Federal Department of Education, to my mind, must be in this belief in ideocracy, the belief that the idea is more potent than the dollar. For this reason, I would prefer to see the two questions divorced, and the question of a Federal Department of Education debated on its merits, with reference to political theory in its widest applications without the embarrassing desires and personal advantages which may be associated with the matter of appropriations, to say nothing of the harrassing and vexing questions of detail as to administration such as have been presented here the last two days.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION. ITS JUSTIFICATION, DEGREE, AND METHOD

By HORACE M. TOWNER, *Member of Congress from the Eighth Iowa District*

AM not quite sure that President Kinley expected me to discuss the creation of a Department of Education in connection with the subject of Federal Aid to Education. But as the subjects are both included in the legislation to which I am committed, and as they are so closely connected in creation and application, I shall venture to consider them both in my remarks.

The Cabinet was not created by the Constitution. It is an institution of government created solely by legislative enactment. New executive departments are created and new members of the Cabinet added whenever Congress considers it wise that such action should be taken. The first three of the ten now in existence were established in Washington's administration, the last one was created in 1913.

Departments are not created nor members of the Cabinet appointed to control the subjects assigned them. If the general government has the Constitutional power to control the subject, such measure of control may be given the Secretary as Congress deems advisable. For example, the general government is given control of military affairs and the Secretary of War is granted certain powers of control. The general government is given control of postal affairs, and the Postmaster General is given large powers over such matters. The Constitution gives no power to the general government to control agriculture or labor. Hence, the Secretary of Agriculture is charged with the duty of "promoting agriculture." He is not given power to control agriculture. The Secretary of Labor is charged with the duty of "fostering, promoting, and developing the welfare of the wage earners of the United States." He is given no power in any manner to control labor. In like manner, if a Department of Education is created, its Secretary will be given no power to control education, but he may be charged with the duty of conducting studies and investigation in the field of education, he may call educational conferences, and encourage and aid the States in their educational work without exercising any measure of control.

The justification for creating a Department of Education lies primarily in the fact that education is of supreme importance under our system of government, and should receive the recog-

dition its importance merits. It has been a source of wonder to foreign observers of our institutions that the United States has so far failed to give education such recognition. It is almost alone among the nations in that respect. As reported by the Bureau of Efficiency, the National Government expended over \$65,000,000 during the year 1920 for educational purposes. The educational activities thus carried on are scattered among the numerous bureaus, divisions, and commissions without any co-ordination and with numerous duplications of work. The Bureau of Education occupying a subordinate place in the Department of the Interior, and supported by only a small appropriation, has no control or even knowledge of these various activities. It is apparent that in order to secure efficiency and economy in the work already assumed of this character a directing and coordinating head is required.

A Department is needed to coordinate and integrate the scattered educational forces among the States. It is proposed to create and organize a National Council of Education to consult and advise with the Secretary of Education on subjects relating to the promotion and development of education throughout the nation. This Council is to consist of the chief educational authority of each State; 25 educators, representing different interests in education, and 25 eminent persons, not educators, interested in education from the standpoint of the public. Annual conferences are to be called, at which the entire scope of the educational interests of the nation will be considered.

It is manifest that in order to carry on such work a Secretary of Education is required. Both in the councils of the Cabinet and in leadership and influence with the educational forces throughout the land, such an educational head is necessary to dignify and unify the educational work of the nation. This does not imply nor is it desired if it were possible to take from the States the control of their educational systems, nor does it mean the adoption of a national system of education. It is only to aid and encourage the States to greater educational endeavor, and by mutual conference and discussion to bring to the States most backward the stimulus that will raise their standards to the level of the more forward and advanced.

It is believed that the creation of a Department of Education, with its chief a Secretary in the President's Cabinet, will express for the first time in our history the nation's real interest in education; that it will promote by research, investigation, and reports the practical operation of our public school system throughout the United States; that it will by leadership and service stir the States and the people to a greater interest in edu-

cational work and to a more comprehensive knowledge of educational needs, and that it will mark the commencement of a new era of educational progress throughout the whole country.

It is further proposed that provision shall be made to authorize appropriations from the national treasury to encourage the States in the promotion and support of education. In order to do this effectively certain specific educational needs are considered as being the most important and pressing. Thus appropriations are to be authorized to encourage the States for the removal of illiteracy, for the Americanization of immigrants, for the preparation of teachers, to promote physical education, and to equalize educational opportunities. It is believed that this selection of objects covers in large measure the most pressing educational needs in which there is an immediate national interest. A State may accept the provisions of any one or more of the respective apportionments by meeting the prescribed requirements and by providing for the expenditure from State or local funds of a sum at least equally as large as the national grant for the particular apportionment authorized.

It is provided that these grants from the National Treasury are not dependent upon executive discretion or favor, but are compulsory when the States meet the conditions specifically stated in the Act.

These requirements are minimum requirements, and there can be no reasonable dissent as to their necessity and fairness. The National Government cannot make a grant without stating the purpose for which the grant is made, and in making a contingent grant it must state specifically the conditions necessary to be met in order to secure the grant. On the other hand, the State is entitled to know just what the requirements necessary to receive its part of the apportionment are, so that it can be assured that if it meets those requirements, and those only, it will not have to appeal for executive favor in order to receive its grant, and will not be required to surrender control of its educational system to a centralized authority.

I presume these propositions are familiar to you. I presume, also, that most of you are familiar with the arguments that have been advanced in its favor. Let us consider briefly some of the objections that are urged against this proposed legislation.

It is said that the legislation is unnecessary. This objection is urged both against the creation of a Department of Education, and against the proposal to aid the States by subventions from the National Treasury. There is always reluctance about creating a new department. Originally there were but three,

State, Treasury, and War. An advisory attorney was selected, and afterward he became a member of the Cabinet. Then came at intervals, Navy, Post Office, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, and then separately, Labor. Now we have ten departments, and our Cabinet is one of the smallest among the nations. The purpose of the creation of all these executive departments was to give recognition to and secure a more effective realization of our primary and essential National interests. Because the National Government was not given control of education, and because the States have exercised that power does not disparage the fact that education has been throughout our history a primary, almost a paramount interest of the Nation. In 1785 the National Government made grants of its public lands for the "maintenance of public schools." The Ordinance of 1787 creating the Northwest Territory provided that "Schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." From that time down to the present the National Government has recognized education as an important interest of the Nation, and has aided it with grants both of land and money. If it has been and is a primary interest of the Nation, why should not full recognition be given it by the National Government? It certainly is of equal importance with Commerce, or Agriculture, or Labor.

It is asserted by some objectors that merely to create a Department of Education and select a Secretary will transfer the control of the schools from the States to the Nation; that in some mysterious manner there will thus be created an autocracy that will reach out and absorb all the educational activities of the Nation; that for some undisclosed and malevolent purpose a conspiracy has been formed of the educators of the country to subvert the Constitution and destroy the liberties of the people. It is unnecessary to say in this presence that there is no effort being made anywhere or by anybody to transfer the control of the schools from the States to the Nation. On the contrary, in most explicit terms the Secretary is forbidden to exercise any control over the schools within the States, and that power is expressly reserved to the States.

The objection is also urged that merely to grant appropriations from the National Treasury contingent upon conditions, in and of itself transfers control from the States to the Nation; that the States in order to secure the funds from the National Government will surrender their Constitutional rights; in short, that the Nation offers to buy from the States the control of the schools and assume the power of directing and managing the education of the people.

This objection, strange as it may appear, is the argument most strongly urged by the opponents of the legislation for National aid. It must appear indeed remarkable that such a purpose could have actuated the educators of the country in the formation of their bill. It has not generally been supposed that the school men of the Nation were engaged in a conspiracy to subvert the Constitution and secure control of the Government. It must appear to every reasonable man that there is no desire nor can there be any purpose on the part of the Representatives of the Government to take over the control of the schools. It must also be apparent that the people of the States are not so stupid and submissive as to sell their right to control the education of their children for a money bribe.

The legislation is advocated because conditions are urgent and demand action, and because the States are in some cases unable and in others unwilling to meet the emergency without help. It is to stimulate the States to greater activity in the education of their own people; it is to aid them in reducing the burden and danger because of the ignorance of their people that this legislation is urged. The Government has an equal interest with the States in the character of its citizens. The Government has no citizens nor interests within its territory outside the States. Their people are its people, and their citizens are its citizens. If the people of the States are ignorant, so are the people of the Nation. If the peace, prosperity, and security of the States must depend upon the intelligence of its citizens, so is it with the Nation. With this community of interest there is a common obligation. So it is proposed to aid the States by granting them funds from the National Treasury, and in effect to say to the States: "The National Government will help you to remove this burden and danger from your people, because your people are my people, and your interests are my interests." In effect, also, the Government declares to the States by this proposed legislation: "This aid is granted you upon the condition that you use it only for the purpose stated in the grant, and that you use it in your own way without dictation or control by the Government."

It may be again stated that all the conditions upon which aid is granted are statutory, and are specifically stated in the Act. These requirements may be changed by Congress, but they cannot be changed by the Secretary or any other executive officer. No additional requirements can be added, and no autocratic, bureaucratic, or centralized control imposed.

It should be further stated that before any State can receive the benefits of the Act such State must by legislative enactment accept its provisions. So that there must be an agreement of the

representatives of the people of the Nation with the representatives of the people of the State before the legislation can become effective. Under such circumstances it is not probable, it is not possible that the State will surrender its rights, or that the Nation will transcend its powers.

Attention is called to the fact that by the provisions of the bill the administration, the application, and distribution of the funds within the State are exclusively committed to the State authorities. I think I am justified in saying that in no other legislation of this character ever enacted have the rights of the States been so carefully guarded. Let me call your attention to this provision of the bill, found in Section 13, 1-3:

"PROVIDED, That courses of study, plans and methods for carrying out the purposes and provisions of this Act within a State, shall be determined by the State and local educational authorities of said State, and this Act shall not be construed to require uniformity of courses of study, plans, and methods in the several States in order to secure the benefits herein provided: AND PROVIDED FURTHER, That all the educational facilities encouraged by the provisions of this Act and accepted by a State shall be organized, supervised, and administered exclusively by the legally constituted State and local educational authorities of said State, and the Secretary of Education shall exercise no authority in reation thereto except as herein provided to insure that all funds apportioned to said State shall be used for the purposes for which they are appropriated by Congress."

If any stronger or more explicit statement can be made saving to the States their right to control their own schools in their own way and prohibiting any interference on the part of the General Government, the friends of the measure would be glad to accept it.

It is said that contributions from the National Treasury are unnecessary, for the States will meet the emergency and provide the necessary means. If that were true, the objection would be good. But is it true?

Take illiteracy, as an example, and consider conditions. The census of 1910 showed that in the United States there were 5,500,000 over 10 years of age who could not read or write any language. In addition there were 3,500,000 who could not speak, or read, or write English. This placed us below the standard of most of the civilized nations of the world. But that was not the worst. The examination of the draft registrants for service in the late war showed that of the men called between the ages of 21 and 31, nearly 25 per cent could not read a newspaper, could not write a letter home, and could not read the posted orders about the camps.

The Nation's defense is thus doubly impaired; first, because one-fourth of the sons of America called to the colors are incapacitated for efficient service because of their ignorance; and, second, because in a free country its safety is jeopardized when a determining portion of its voters cannot read the ballots they cast and can only vote as they are told.

Consider the economic loss which Secretary Lane estimates as at least \$825,000,000 each year. The Director of the Bureau of Mines states that of the 1,000,000 men engaged in mining in the United States 620,000 are foreigners, and that of these 460,000 cannot speak English. He states that the removal of illiteracy among the miners would save annually 1,000 lives and 150,000 injuries. Investigation has shown that one-half the industrial accidents are the result of ignorance, because the workers cannot read the danger warnings or understand the orders given.

It has been said that illiteracy is a Southern problem. The facts do not warrant that conclusion. Georgia has 389,000 illiterates, but New York has 406,000. Alabama has 352,000, while Pennsylvania has 354,000. Louisiana has 352,000, Mississippi 290,000, and Texas 282,000; but Illinois has 168,000, Ohio, 124,000, and even Massachusetts has 141,000.

It is thought that illiteracy is a race problem. But it is much more than that. There are over 1,000,000 more white illiterates in the United States than illiterate negroes.

Is not this clearly a National problem? If the Nation's safety is imperilled, if the lives of its own citizens are being lost, and if the States are not able or not willing without help to remove this reproach and danger, is not National aid justified and imperative?

Consider the condition of our immigrant population. We now have over 15,000,000 foreign born people in the United States. More than 5,000,000 cannot speak, read, or write English. More than 2,000,000 cannot read or write any language. Unfortunately these foreigners often group themselves into alien settlements or colonies, where our language is not spoken, where our journals are not read, and where the whole environment is alien and un-American. These masses of alien ignorance constitute a rich soil for sowing the seeds of unrest and revolt. Revolutionary agitators who come to this country to advocate the destruction of our Government find here their opportunity.

To make the immigrant understand America is the only way to make him love America. He cannot love a country he does not understand. Education is the first requisite of Americanization. Education, first in our language, and then in the nature

of our institutions is the best defense against the bolshevik and the anarchist.

This demand is not being met. When great States like Massachusetts and New York and Ohio have actually increased both their percentage and total of illiteracy within the decade from 1900 to 1910 because of their failure to educate their foreign born, we realize that even these enlightened commonwealths need stimulation and aid.

Perhaps no disclosure of the draft examinations carries more reproach to our intelligence than the fact that out of about 2,400,000 young men examined for service 700,000, or nearly one-third, were found disqualified because of physical disability. Ninety percent of these disabilities could have been prevented by a knowledge of the simplest rules of hygiene and health. It was ignorance, gross ignorance, that in the vast majority of cases was the cause of their incompetence.

There is but one adequate remedy for this disgraceful and distressing condition,—to put into all our schools a system of physical education. Unfortunately, this has not been done. The additional cost deprives thousands of schools and tens of thousands of children of this essential element of education. Here again is the stimulation and help of the Nation needed to remedy the existing unfortunate conditions.

That gross inequalities in educational opportunities exist within and among the States is well known. In the South almost one-half of the negro children never see the inside of a school room. In the North there is hardly a city that has adequate facilities for all its children. In some rural communities and factory districts the value of the property is so small that local taxation cannot support the schools. On an average the country boy has two months less school than the city boy.

Unfortunately, it is found that where the educational needs are greatest the schools are most inadequate. All over our land the poorest schools are in the poorest communities—just where the best schools are most needed. To equalize educational opportunities is a task the Nation is especially qualified to undertake. To encourage and aid the backward States to bring their deficiencies up to a reasonable measure of efficiency and service is apparently a National duty. By such stimulation and cooperation we may be able to give every child in America the advantage of at least a common school education.

The most pressing educational problem confronting the people of the United States at the present time is to obtain competent teachers for our schools. Thousands of schools have been closed because teachers of any kind could not be secured. Tens

of thousands of schools are now being taught by incompetent teachers. Three hundred thousand are teaching who have no professional training whatever.

An equally imperative duty is that of providing means for the better preparation of teachers. We need about 700,000 teachers to teach our schools, and this requires about 120,000 new teachers each year to keep the quota full. Our schools and colleges preparing for teaching are turning out but 24,000 each year. Nearly 100,000 must enter the profession each year inadequately prepared. This condition is alarming, and must be remedied. In some way we must bring the States and the people to a realization of this danger. Unless conditions can be bettered we shall have in the present decade a larger proportion of near-illiterates than was disclosed by the war registration. Indifference as to the character of our schools and their teachers will inevitably lead to a deterioration of our citizenship. We must see to it that every school in the land is taught by a competent teacher. Nothing less than that is safe for either State or Nation.

If illiteracy is a National peril, if ignorance of our language and institutions is a source of danger, if unjustifiable inequalities exist in educational opportunities in our land, if our young men called to the service of their country are incapacitated because of ignorance of the ordinary rules of health, if schools are being closed for want of teachers, and almost one-half are being taught by incompetent teachers, then it can fairly be claimed that National aid for education is justified and necessary.

It is urged as an objection that it is unjust to call upon the stronger States to aid the weaker to educate their children; that the money derived from general taxation which would fall heaviest on the richer States should not be used to help the poorer States; that each State should bear the burden and responsibility of educating its own people.

This objection was urged from the beginning against the whole system of public schools. It was argued that parents should have the burden of educating their own children and that taxation to support common schools was unconstitutional and unjust. It was said the rich man was under no obligation to help educate the children of the poor. It was especially urged that those having no children to educate must not be taxed to help educate the children of others. It was still more strenuously insisted that it was especially iniquitous to tax the property of a bachelor to carry on schools for others' children.

But all those objections were disregarded, and now no one claims that it is unjust to tax the rich man to educate the poor man's children, and the bachelor must pay his taxes to support

the schools, whether he wants to or not. It is recognized that the welfare of a community or State depends upon the character of its citizens; that the city or State is concerned for its own safety and peace in the intelligence of all its citizens, and that each must contribute his share for the common good.

So with the Nation. We have seen how its safety may be jeopardized because of the illiteracy and physical incapacity of so many of its young men. We have seen how in a free Government its security and prosperity depend on the intelligence of its entire electorate. Neither illiterates nor alien malcontents can be confined to any one State. And so it is a National problem as well as a State and local problem. Manifestly, it needs the cooperation of all these to find and supply the remedy.

The cost to the Government is urged as an objection to the legislation. To place this additional burden on the Government at this time of extraordinary expenditures would be unwise, it is said. Our people already groaning under the weight of Federal taxes will not approve this addition to the load, it is argued. Granting the full weight of this objection, it must be admitted that the Nation must make choice as to its expenditures. Wise action depends on selecting those objects for National appropriations which are most needed and most important. There is nothing in our scheme of Government more important than the education of the people. Whatever else may be left out, education cannot safely be excluded. And this may be said to the credit of our people, the one thing that justifies a tax in their judgment is that which strengthens and supports our public schools. There are many millions annually appropriated which in their opinion have much less justification than the appropriations authorized by this bill. We might cut off a hundred million from either the Army or the Navy bills with less danger and more profit than to omit this appropriation. We gave seventy-five millions the other day to the States for good roads. Are good roads of more importance than good schools? We are still spending millions to remove rocks from our harbors and snags from our rivers; to remove hog-cholera in Iowa, and cattle-ticks in Texas; to remove boll-weevil in Alabama, and wheat-rust in North Dakota,—are we justified in refusing to spend anything to remove illiteracy from our own American citizens? It is not that the things mentioned are not worthy of consideration, but certainly they are not more worthy of consideration than is the education of our children. Those things are after all but economic ills, while ignorance imperils the safety and endangers the perpetuity of the Nation itself.

There are some outstanding facts regarding the relations of the Nation and the States toward education which it is wise to recognize. There has never been proposed in Congress any legislation which even suggested that the Nation should take from the States the control of education. No one has ever advocated it, no one now proposes it, no one in or out of Congress desires it. The proposition has no support anywhere by anyone.

There is no legal authority for such legislation if anyone did propose it. If a bill carrying such a proposal were introduced, it would immediately be recognized as without Constitutional warrant, and would never even reach the calendar of either Senate or House.

To claim that anyone, sponsor or supporter of the pending educational bill, desires or expects National control of education to follow the enactment of the legislation under consideration is without the slightest sanction. To state that the emphatic and repeated negations expressed in the strongest language that can be used which are incorporated in the very terms of the proposed law mean nothing and will not be effective, is to say that no law can be made effective by its terms.

But while Congress has no desire nor purpose nor Constitutional power to take from the States the control of education, the General Government has the right to aid and encourage the States in the education of their and its citizens, and this right it has exercised repeatedly from the beginning of our history to the passage of the last Appropriation Act. It granted sections of the public lands to the States for schools. It granted townships of land for the creation and support of universities. Lands were given as long as they lasted, and then money was given. Congress gives annually over two and a half million dollars from the National Treasury for the "support and further endowment of colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts." Every year we give tens of millions of dollars from the National Treasury in support of almost every form of education. Why is it that these grants are not opposed? Why is it that where education is so much needed, at the very bottom of our political and social structure, where it enters into the very texture of the fabric of our American citizenship—in form about which there is no controversy and in substance the acknowledged essential—why is it that when it is proposed to strengthen our common school system the proposition is condemned and opposed?

It must be that such opposition is based upon a misconception of the proposed legislation. To think otherwise would be to believe that there were in our country those who really desired

the destruction of our common school system. Such a belief no loyal American would desire to entertain.

You who listen to me today are educators or are greatly interested in the cause of education in the United States. This is primarily your cause. It is your particular responsibility. It is characteristic of the American people to be intensely interested and enthusiastic in the formation and establishment of a particular public service, and then when they have succeeded and have placed it in what they believe competent hands,—to go off and forget about it. In a degree that has been true of our common school system. We have been so absorbed in building cities, making railways, plowing prairies, redeeming wildernesses and subduing a continent that we have had little time to give to the humdrum work of the district school. Lately, all our minds and hearts, all our energy and activities have been given to save our country and the world from a savage onslaught of outlaw nations. And as a consequence we have allowed twenty-five out of every one hundred of our sons and daughters to sink into deplorable depths of illiteracy and ignorance. We *must* rescue them. We *must* see that their successors shall not suffer like neglect and misfortune. We are compelled to realize that an intolerable condition exists which must not be allowed longer to continue. This calls for each of us to bear a part in the work set before us. By the memory of those who throughout all the years of our National life have given so much of thought and service to the up-building of the Republic; by the memory of the thousands who by the sacrifice of life itself have rescued the Nation from dishonor and destruction, we are called to meet and well fulfill the responsibilities which now are ours.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FEDERAL LEGISLATION ON EDUCATION

By THOMAS STERLING, *United States Senator from South Dakota*

N SPEAKING to you on the subject assigned, namely, "Constitutional and Political Significance of Federal Legislation on Education," I should perhaps say a word for the purpose of clarifying the theme itself. By the "Constitutional Significance," I understand is meant the bearing, if any, the Constitution of the United States may have in the way of either permitting or preventing any legislation by Congress for the purpose of controlling or promoting education.

By "Political Significance," I understand is meant the bearing such legislation may have on the relations of the individual citizen to the State or the Federal Government, including its bearing on the social and political life and ideals of the people.

While in our day education is an all-absorbing and practical source of effort and desire, we search the Constitution of the United States in vain for the word "education." It is, in this respect, a barren field. So far as we know, no proposal in the interests of education was brought before the convention of 1787 save one, by James Madison, which would have given Congress the power:

"To establish seminaries for the promotion of the arts and sciences.

"To establish public institutions, rewards and immunities for the promotion of agriculture, commerce, trade and manufacture."

It appears that the proposal was not discussed by the convention except that one member expressed the view that it was not necessary to grant such power to Congress, as "the exclusive power at the seat of Government will reach the object."

We read the specifically enumerated powers of Congress contained in Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution, beginning with the power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, etc.," and ending with the power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, etc.," and find no authority, expressed or to be implied, in this grant of powers for Congressional action in directing, controlling or promoting the education of the people. The nearest approach to the subject is found in that clause which confers upon Congress the power:

"To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries."—

the Constitutional warrant, of course, for our copyright and patent laws, but never thought of by the most liberal constructionists as affording ground for Federal interest in or control of education.

To come to the point, the powers of Congress under the Constitution are delegated powers. By the terms of Article X,

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

The power to direct or control education is not delegated to the United States; that is, not delegated to the Federal Government acting through either the Legislative or Executive branches thereof. It is not a power prohibited to the States, and is therefore a power reserved to the States or to the people.

The various grants of power are in the most concise terms possible. In many cases they have been apparently extended by judicial interpretation, or by what the critics would more harshly term "judicial legislation." The framers of the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, giving Congress the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, could hardly have dreamed of those new conditions and that more complex society which have invited or demanded the frequent application of the right of Congress to regulate commerce among the several States of the Union. It is in this sense rather than by judicial legislation that the powers of Congress seem to have been extended.

Likewise, the power to establish post offices and post roads is couched in so many words, but as a result we have the postal system which is the marvel of the world. Moreover, rural and city free delivery; the parcels post; the exclusion from the mails of certain matter regarded as dangerous to the morals, health and peace of society; the appropriation of more than three hundred millions of dollars of Federal money since 1916 to aid the States in the construction of roads,—have followed as a consequence of this apparently limited grant of power.

Of course, with each new exercise or application of the power has come the cry of unconstitutionality, of centralization, of paternalism; but, recognizing new conditions and new needs, the highest judicial tribunal has for the most part sustained the legislation enacted in pursuance thereof, and the people have come to realize that there has been no usurpation and no infringement upon the principles or spirit of true Democracy.

But, in the cases I have cited, there is the ultimate power found in the language of the Constitution. In the matter of education, there is no such obvious starting point. Is there anything at all on which to build?

There is little question but that the desire for the general welfare has been the animating cause for much of the legislation assumed to be in pursuance of a power under the Constitution, and that it has been a factor also in judicial interpretation.

To what extent may the general welfare be the ground of Congressional action, where no express power whatever concerning the particular subject is conferred upon Congress?

The general welfare is twice mentioned in the Constitution: First, in the preamble, where to "promote the general welfare" is named as one of the objects for which the Constitution is ordained and established; and secondly, in Section 8 of Article I where, among objects for which Congress may collect taxes is the one to "provide for the general welfare of the United States."

To what extent may Federal legislation, relating to education, be built on these two?

As a background to some conclusions reached, let it be observed that the omissions of the Constitution do not reflect the attitude of the fathers of the Republic in regard to education, although, considering the fact that so many of these were educated men with their traditional belief in the diffusion of education among the people, and that it must be counted on as the very cornerstone of free Government, the wonder to the superficial observer at least is that their beliefs did not find some expression in the fundamental law.

But now, in the light of our wonderful history, with our better understanding of all the forces and factors that have entered into the problem, I am convinced that if the founders of the Constitution did not "build more wisely than they knew," they builded more wisely than many who came after them have known. For it was a new and, as they hoped, permanent Federal Government they were constructing, and that too, out of States most sensitive as to their prerogatives. Few indeed were the interests which they were willing to yield to the control of a central power, and thus, education, like a hundred other interests, was left to the initiative and control of the local community or of the State.

I think for those what we might term formative days, it was better so. Out of the knowledge of the people of the several States of their own particular conditions and needs; out of State pride and a spirit of emulation; and out of the dependence of the State upon its own educational resources, came that State initiative development and strength, which contributed more to the

strength of the whole than if from the beginning there had been reliance on the central Government for controlling and directing aid in the maintenance of their several school systems.

Back of it all, however, was the American spirit in education. It had been manifested in many ways: by the admonitions of individual leaders; by the action of legislative and governing bodies; by the quick response of the people to every proposition to widen the field or raise higher the standard of education. Let me recall a few of these:

The ordinance of the Continental Congress of 1785 gave the sixteenth section in every township for educational purposes, this out of lands ceded by the original States to the United States.

The celebrated ordinance of 1787, for the government of the Northwest Territory, contained the declaration:

“Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good Government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.”

From the year 1803 to the year 1846 inclusive, twelve States had received the sixteenth section as an endowment for public schools, either out of the lands ceded by the States to the United States, or out of the Louisiana Purchase, the total being 10,919,586 acres.

From the year 1850 to the year 1875 inclusive, fifteen States received sections sixteen and thirty-six out of every township belonging to the public domain, for common school purposes, or a total of 52,869,872 acres.

Certain of the original thirteen States gave of their own State-owned lands for school purposes.

These munificent endowments of land for the purpose of general education rest for their authority on that part of Section 3 of Article IV of the Constitution, which gives Congress the power “to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States,” and Congress thus empowered could not have more nearly reflected the American genius or have better served the general welfare than it did in rendering this aid to education.

Aside from the strong religious motive which prompted much of the early colonial effort in the establishment of schools, these Acts of Congress harmonized with what from the earliest times in our history has been the general American ideal.

Washington, as we know, cherished the idea of a National University. He made some provision for it in his last will and testament. From that remarkable document I quote these sig-

nificant words. They have a bearing upon the scope and purpose of present Congressional effort:

"For these reasons it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire, thereby to do away with local attachments and State prejudices as far as things would or indeed ought to admit from our National councils."

The words too of his farewell address will be as appropriate down to our remotest posterity as when first uttered:

"Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of Government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

Thus, both the will and testament, and the farewell address, state in a broad way the political significance of Federal legislation on education. Local attachments and State prejudices should yield to those systematic ideas through which men comprehend not merely local or special interests and institutions, but the national welfare, and it goes without saying that in the last analysis it is public opinion in this country that governs, and in order to govern aright, it must be an enlightened public opinion.

Now we come to a new era and a new form of Government grant. It is not one in aid of the common schools or of education generally, but for institutions of a new type where, in the language of the grant:

"The leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, *in such manner as the Legislatures of the several States shall prescribe*, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."

The Morrill Act of 1862 was approved by President Lincoln after it had been vetoed by President Buchanan on the grounds that it was both inexpedient and unconstitutional. I do not think the constitutionality of that Act has ever been questioned in any judicial proceeding. It has been characterized as,

"Probably the most important single specific enactment ever made in the interest of education. * * *

It expresses the final emancipation from formed traditional and aristocratic ideas."

It recognizes the democracy of education.

This great State of Illinois was one of the first beneficiaries of the Morrill Act, and this, one of the most prosperous of our State Universities, was established as the "Illinois Industrial University," by aid of the land scrip which the Act authorized. It has been said that you have dropped the "Industrial," but from all accounts you retain the industry.

But this was only a beginning. It is followed by the Hatch Act of 1887, which gives money, \$15,000 a year, the proceeds of the sale of public lands, but not lands, to each State for an Agricultural and Experiment Station. This amount is doubled by the Adams Act of 1906.

The second Morrill Act, that of 1880, gives as a further endowment to the Agricultural Colleges \$15,000 a year to be increased by \$1000 a year until a total of \$25,000 is reached.

And now comes the recognition of a new principle. It is found in the third Morrill Act. Senator Morrill foresaw the day when, with the decrease in the available public lands, there must necessarily be a decrease in the funds to be derived from the sale for apportionment among the several States, and so he provided that any deficiency arising from such sales should be made good from any funds in the National Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

We have crossed the line; we have set the precedent. If it were ever doubted whether the words "or other property," in that paragraph of Article IV of the Constitution which gives to Congress "the power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory 'or other property' of the United States," could be construed to include money, the doubt was in effect removed by the third Morrill Act. We did it! Not to my knowledge has the constitutionality of this Act ever been questioned in any judicial proceeding.

The enactment successively of the Agricultural Extension Act of 1914, the Vocational Education Act of 1917, the Maternity Act of 1921—all educational; all now acquiesced in, and as I believe, all rejoiced in—have given such strong legislative construction as to what Congress may do in the laying of taxes and the granting of money for the public welfare, that there is now no danger that the power will ever again be called in question.

But there is one more step. It must be taken if we keep pace with the growing American spirit in education. From the political standpoint it is of the utmost significance. Professor Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth," third edition, 1895, after speaking of the Americans as an educated people compared with the whole mass of the population in any European country,

except Switzerland, parts of Germany, Norway, Iceland and Scotland, says parenthetically:

"I speak of course of the native Americans, excluding Negroes and recent immigrants."

and then he goes on further to say:

"The instruction received in the common schools and from the newspapers, and supposed to be developed by the practice of primaries and conventions, while it makes the voter deem himself capable of governing, does not fit him to weigh the real merits of his statesmen, to discern the true grounds on which questions ought to be decided, to note the drift of events and discover the direction in which parties are being carried."

Taking the two passages together with what he says by way of parenthesis, in regard to the inclusion of native Americans and the exclusion of 'recent immigrants', from his estimate, we can readily discover our new need for legislation that will insure further aid and encouragement out of the National resources.

If when Viscount Bryce wrote these passages, the recent 'immigrant element' would have lowered the general high standard of American literacy, by how much more would it have done so a quarter of a century later, considering the swarms that have come to our shores within that period and the parts of Europe from which they have come.

A brief survey suggests these inquiries:

Is there need that these numerous alien elements, representing every variety of political, economic or social creed, or without any creed at all, should be quickly assimilated and brought into harmony with our ideals of free Government?

Visit Ellis Island, the great immigrant port of entry for the United States, or the great industries—steel, or cotton, or coal—or the Little Greece, or Italy, or Poland, or Russia, or Roumania, or the Big Ghetto as you will find them in the big cities of our country, and tell me how long you think it will take, and by what available processes or facilities, the task will be accomplished?

Does this present a National problem? Is there need that the general Government aid in encouraging the States in extending the field and increasing their educational facilities?

Let the United States army and the selective service records made during the late war, with their astonishing if not alarming story of illiteracy and physical unfitness answer the question.

Would you know to what classes and to what degree of ignorance and illiteracy the men who advocate the overthrow of Government or the accomplishment of industrial revolution by force and violence, make their most successful appeal? The rec-

ords of the courts, State and Federal, will tell part of the story. The Immigration Bureau at Washington, and the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, can add to the information; but those to whom such appeal is made are numbered by the million.

Can the nation ignore this menace to its peace and good order by failure to do its part in providing means of education and Americanization?

Again, is it not a matter of National concern that the opportunities, especially for primary and rural school education, should be increased and equalized so that the children of America, whether they live in Massachusetts or in Texas, in densely or sparsely settled communities, shall have equal chances to obtain a common-school education and learn the fundamentals of good citizenship?

These are all National problems, thrust upon us as the natural and logical result of our National policies and of our growth from the simpler needs which the community or the State could perhaps at one time supply, to a nation-wide and complex social and political condition. These problems must have National sympathy and cooperation for their proper solution.

Let it be remembered that all these classes which I have just mentioned, un-American in spirit and sympathy as many of them are, are yet citizens or potential citizens, not of the State alone in which they reside, but of the United States. They cannot be Americanized out of hand over night; Americanization involves education, and that takes time, skill and fit instrumentalities. Let us not forget that the citizenship of every man, woman and child, if they have citizenship at all, is a dual citizenship, one a citizenship of the State, one of the Nation, and each is the source of its peculiar rights and obligations.

It is no less imperative that the citizen respond to the call to perform his national duty than it is that he perform his duty to the State. More and more and sometimes in spite of ourselves do we recognize the all pervasiveness of national interest and policies, and more and more do we share in the national consciousness. The Nation then is interested in the moral, educational, and political equipment of its citizenship. To refer again to the language of Mr. Bryce: the Nation even more than the State is interested in knowing that the voter is "fit to weigh the real merits of state-men, to discern the true grounds on which questions ought to be decided, to note the drift of events and discover the direction in which parties are being carried."

So, as it seems to me viewed from the national standpoint the political significance of federal aid in education can no

longer be open to conjecture. Further, that the aid thus far given in lands or in money has resulted in promotion of the general welfare there can be little doubt. But there are present day exigencies not within the scope of existing legislation, to aid in meeting which is in my judgment the imperative duty of the general government. They cannot be met by a submerged and unrelated bureau in the Department of the Interior, empowered to gather and distribute statistical information; nor can they be adequately met by federal contributions only for specific objects to be matched by equal contributions on the part of the states accepting them. The vital importance of the subject, its intimate relation to the well being and safety of the people—and this is the highest law—as well as the dignity of the subject, all combine to urge as the next great step the creation of a Department of Education, with its secretary a member of the president's cabinet, whose proper function it shall be not alone to administer funds apportioned to the states, important though this may be, but through investigation and research to cover the whole field of our educational resources and needs; and which without dictation, without ignoring state plans or encroaching upon the freedom of state initiative shall from its higher vantage ground encourage, stimulate, and lead in every constitutional cooperative educational enterprise that will enhance the general welfare.

DISCUSSION

Discussion of the papers read at the afternoon session of the conference was had as follows:

CHARLES H. JUDD, *Director, School of Education, University of Chicago*

Ladies and Gentlemen: I want to express my personal appreciation of the step taken by the University of Illinois in providing opportunity for this discussion. So far as I know, it is the first discussion that has been provided for on this and related measures; although we have had this bill and its ancestors before us for about three years. If we could have a full discussion of the type which has been carried on here for two days, I think it would be possible to build a platform on which we all could stand with equal enthusiasm. I am sure that this conference has made it certain that we ought to unite in insisting that radical amendments to the present bills be made before the measure is put in final form and proposed to Congress.

I am also gratified to know that Judge Towner had made a statement that the two parts of this bill have been separated from each other and that they are to be considered separately. We can now go along with the first part of the bill without discussing the second part. I, for one, think I am willing to go further than Judge Towner. I have such confidence in the new secretary that I would leave the problem of federal subsidies for him to settle after he is created. It seems clear that it is inopportune to proceed with the discussion of legislative measures that will turn the new department into a mere auditing office, when we are told that the two parts of the bill have been separated. Why not construct a strong department and ask it to recommend after investigation what ought to be done about subsidies?

We have seen this bill amended two or three times. In the first place, the bill was adopted by the National Education Association in 1918. That bill needed radical revision and some of us said so. We were told to keep quiet in the hope that Congress would act quickly. We did until the fourth of March, 1919. When Congress showed no disposition to act quickly some of us ventured to voice our objections to the provisions of the first bill. That bill contained exactly the provisions of the Smith-Hughes law with regard to federal control of funds given to the states. It gave control to the Federal Department of Education on exactly the same terms that control was given to the Federal Board for vocational education. For a period of nine months that was the form of the bill. During these nine months there was no public discussion of the bill but a good deal of personal discussion carried on and such objection was found among state officials to the control features of the bill that by the time the bill turned up in the next Congress it had to be changed to secure general support. It was changed in such a manner as to give it exactly the opposite effect. No public discussion, mark you, had preceded this change. It seems to me that it is fair to infer that the framers of this bill were without any real policy in the matter. They were ready to reverse themselves on cardinal issues to secure support. It is my judgment that we have a right to ask for more insight on the part of those who frame our bills.

We are asked now to consider only the first part of the bill. Many of us have felt all along that there is at least one fundamental objection to the first part of the bill. This objection was presented to the commission that formulated the bill and to everybody who has had charge of the bill. The bill does not say anything about the Federal Board for vocational education. It is fair to record the history that explains why that is so. When the commission was considering which branches of the government were to be included in the Department of Education, the director of the Vocational Board appeared before the commission and notified them that if his Board was included in the original draft of the bill he would oppose the bill; so the commission left that board out.

Suppose that a new department is created. One of the first matters that will have to be discussed will be the question of adopting the Federal Board for Vocational Education into the new Department. So far as I can see, there are only two answers to the question raised:

(1) Either the Federal Board is to be allowed to go on its own independent way or (2) its activities will have to be taken up by the new department. If the Vocational Board is not absorbed we shall have a perpetuation of one of the most damaging policies that Congress has ever adopted. At the behest of commercial interests Congress passed the Smith-Hughes law and drove a dividing wedge into our unified American educational system. If the federal government goes on separating vocational education from academic education it will be committing a grave offense against American institutional life; for in this country we have and ought to be allowed to continue to develop a unified, undivided educational system.

For my part I should be glad to see the Smith-Hughes law repealed root and branch.

On the other hand, if the Federal Board, with its vast powers of control, is incorporated into the new Federal Department of Education, what becomes of the boast of the proponents of the present bill that they have eliminated federal control from the activities of the Department? A transfer of the Federal Board to the Department will result in the most extreme form of control within that Department of at least vocational education.

The question I ask of those responsible for this bill is a grave question. What do you intend to do about vocational education? We have seen two totally different policies on the matter of federal control and a retreat before the Director of the Vocational Board. For one, I believe it is fair to say emphatically that we want a program for the new department, and until those who are in charge of the bill can give us a clear statement of what they are going to do in such matters it is not wise to go on with the bill. We want to know what Congress has in its mind to do with regard to control of industrial education. Is Congress going to continue its unwise policy of the past or has it met with a change of heart?

One comment may not be out of place in regard to financial support. I may be allowed to say that personally I am not at all afraid of federal control. I am very anxious that we should be clear with one another; and those who do not believe in control have a right to speak. I favor certain forms of federal control, especially in those directions in which the states have shown themselves to be incompetent. We should have more discussion of the sort that this conference has brought forth, so that there may be a meeting of the minds. So I say with regard to subsidies, let us have clearness. Let us make our federal subsidies on a sound scientific basis. We have been saying to the Superintendents "Do not ask your community for funds unless you are clear and have distinct grounds for your demands and definite plans for distribution of the funds. Be intelligent before you go before your people." But in this larger national demand we have gone before Congress with a bill that lacks every one of the requirements that we impose on local schools. Every figure in the present bill is a mere guess. Not only so, but the principles for the distribution of such funds as are specified are a deplorable series of incoherencies. I will give one illustration. Take two items—the illiteracy fund and the teachers' fund. The illiteracy fund is distributed in proportion to the number of illiterates in the state. Let us assume that this is a wise method of distribution. When we turn to the teachers' fund, we find that it is to be distributed according to the number of teachers in the state. This looks like the same principle as that accepted for the distribution of the illiteracy fund, but in reality it is the reverse. We give money in the case of illiterates to cure defects—we give money to the teachers in proportion to their excellence.

My plea is not against federal participation in education. My plea is rather for and in behalf of much participation. I join the great group of those who have earnestly hoped that in time we may have a bill that has been drawn with the most careful scrutiny that can be given. I ask that we have some discussion and get these things thoroughly thrashed out so that we all can agree. So far as I can exercise any influence I am willing to promote a discussion and to take part in any consideration that looks into details. In my judgment the present bill needs a great deal of reconstructing and I hope that those who have promoted it will take seriously the example of the University of Illinois and hold some discussion before they go further. The show of unanimity which has been made is a forced illusion. The caucus methods that have been employed are not national and will react on those who adopt them.

Discussion and revision and clearness of policy are the only devices that will save this measure.

HUGH S. MAGILL, *Field Secretary, National Education Association*

I have been very interested in Dr. Judd's talk. I wish to say as one in very close touch with the campaign that has been carried on for the promotion of the Towner-Sterling bill, that I have never noted any disposition to suppress discussion. On the contrary, every possible effort has been made to bring about the fullest and freest discussion of the bill. As a matter of fact, probably no bill ever introduced in Congress has been given such general consideration and public discussion as this bill.

It is true that the bill has gone through a transformation since it was first drawn. It was first introduced during the last session of the Sixty-fifth Congress by Senator Hoke Smith. In its original form it provided that plans for carrying out the provisions of the act within the several states should be submitted to the Secretary of Education for approval. This provision was severely criticized by leaders in education in many of the states. As a result the bill as revised for reintroduction in the Sixty-sixth Congress, was changed to meet this objection, and to preserve state autonomy in the control of education.

The bill was known in the Sixty-sixth Congress as the Smith-Towner bill, introduced in the Senate by Senator Smith and in the House by Congressman Towner. The possibility of setting up executive standards in the administration of the act was denied to the Secretary of Education and the bill made to adhere to the principle that the only standards which could be set up were those specifically named in the act, or what might be termed legislative standards. Near the close of the Sixty-sixth Congress the bill was favorably reported by the Committee on Education of both Senate and House.

Since the bill was not passed by the Sixty-sixth Congress, it was necessary to reintroduce it in the present Congress. Before its reintroduction, however, the bill was carefully revised and all the amendments which had been agreed upon as a result of the widest possible discussion and the fullest and most careful consideration, were incorporated in what is now known as the Towner-Sterling bill, it having been introduced in the House by Congressman Horace Mann Towner of Iowa, and in the Senate by Senator Thomas Sterling of South Dakota. The present bill is an evolution, and its present form is the result of a painstaking consideration of hundreds of suggestions from the leading educators of the country. No one can truthfully say that the leading educators have not been consulted. This bill has been considered at the annual conventions of the National Education Association for the past three years, its provisions thoroughly discussed, and its principles unqualifiedly endorsed. It has also been discussed at three successive meetings of the Department of Superintendence and overwhelmingly endorsed. Dr. Judd himself took part in some of these discussions. It has also been discussed and endorsed by state teachers' associations throughout the country, and by hundreds of civic organizations.

Dr. Judd says he will not support this bill unless he knows definitely what is to be included in the Department of Education. The bill states that the department shall include in addition to the present Bureau of Education, such other offices, bureaus, divisions, boards, and branches of the Government as Congress may determine should be administered by the Department of Education. If this bill ever becomes a law it must be passed by Congress, and of course we must leave to Congress to determine what should be included in the proposed department. Any of us may go before Congress or before Committees, and express our opinions. Dr. Judd may exercise his right to state what he thinks should be included in the proposed department and what he thinks should be left out, but when we have all expressed our opinions, Congress, in exercise of its constitutional right, will determine the question.

Now, a word regarding the amount of the appropriations suggested in the bill. Dr. Judd declares that these have not been scientifically arrived at, and that before pressing the bill for passage we should find out exactly how much money should be appropriated for each of these specific purposes. Does anybody know exactly how much money would be needed to Americanize the foreigners who have come to our shores and who are continuing to come by the millions? Who would undertake to estimate exactly how much money will be needed for physical education, for the training of teachers, or for the equalization of educational opportunities? To suggest that we ought not ask appropriations for these worthy purposes until we know exactly what no human being ever can know, is an attempt to defeat the purposes of the bill.

But if, through some superhuman knowledge, we did know exactly how much is needed, we could not expect Congress to give us all that we would ask. Anyone who has ever had any experience in securing appropriations for public purposes knows how impossible it is to secure all that is needed, even though the amount asked is very reasonable. Here in the state of Illinois the friends of public education asked the Illinois Legislature for an appropriation of twenty million dollars from the state for the promotion of education. This amount was less per capita than some states are now appropriating and more than others are giving. The Legislature finally appropriated eight millions of dollars. The proponents of this bill will be happy if Congress will make a good start in support of the purposes named in the act, and we will trust to the expanding vision of future Congresses to see the need of increased appropriations in years to come.

Regarding the matter of the distribution of the funds. We are told that the principle of distribution laid down for the promotion of the training of teachers is not scientific. That is simply a matter of opinion. Many of the very best authorities in the United States insist that it is scientific.

Judge Towner has called our attention to the fact that the Committee on Reorganization of the Executive Departments is now considering the whole subject, and that some disposition will be made of education. Under these conditions, as Judge Towner has pointed out, it is clearly the best policy to direct our attention first to obtaining from Congress proper recognition of education in the administrative branch of the Government, and adequate provision for the proper administration of its educational activities.

This is the question most imminent at the present time. Any educator who has a sense of appreciation for his profession must feel humiliated by the scant recognition given to education by the Federal Government. Think of the present Bureau of Education with its very meager appropriations, under a Commissioner who is paid a salary smaller than that paid school superintendents in some cities of less than fifty thousand population. Education as a Bureau of the Interior Department is so subordinated that it has no power and very limited influence. In the organization it is on a par with the Bureau of Fisheries, the Weather Bureau, the Bureau of Animal Husbandry, but the Bureau of Education receives very much smaller appropriations than any of these. Education receives less than one-half of one million per year, and more than half of this amount must be paid to take care of the reindeer of Alaska.

Under such conditions it would seem that all the educators of the country could at least unite on demanding that education shall receive better recognition and more adequate support on the part of the Federal Government. We may expect the enemies of public education to continue their opposition to any bill which provides dignified recognition and adequate support of education, but may we not hope that such forces will not receive aid and assistance from educators and those who claim to be the friends of education? Mr. Wells has said "The development of civilization is a race between education and calamity." We know that Mr. Wells is sometimes right, and does anyone here question that he is right in this statement? If the future of our Nation depends upon the race between education and calamity, who can deny that the question is one of primary importance to our Federal Government? Our Nation cannot afford not to assist the states in the promotion of that which may save us from national calamity.

W. S. SUTTON, *Dean, School of Education, University of Texas*

I wish to express my delight at the presence of Senator Sterling and Representative Towner at this conference, and my appreciation of their unfeigned interest in educational affairs and of their contributions to this meeting. It is true that some of us differ with them; but both they and we are seeking the same end, which is the promotion of intelligence and virtue throughout the land. Our goal is the same; but at present we have not agreed upon the method of reaching that goal.

One should not protract this discussion unduly, but he will be pardoned should he offer a suggestion or two that would throw light, rather than heat, upon the subject we are considering.

It has been intimated here, and I have heard similar accusations elsewhere, that some university people are opposing the Towner-Sterling Bill, possibly, because they are not in sympathy with the public school system. I cannot let this impeachment pass without registering at least a mild protest. Taken as a whole, university men in this country, are thoroughly devoted to the education of all the children of all the people at public expense. Many of these men have grown gray in the service of popular education. Of the fidelity of these men the actual facts furnish unmistakable affirmative evidence. In every state of the Union in the battles for public education, elementary and secondary, as well as higher, rural, as well as urban, university men and women have rendered conspicuous and valiant service, a record which is known of all men familiar with the educational history of our times.

A motto handed down to us from ancient Rome reads, *Festina lente* (make haste slowly). This injunction should be heeded by legislators of the people, for surely this country has suffered and is now suffering from too much hasty, ill-advised legislation. It pays to thresh things out in advance. It takes up much time to do so, but it saves much more time, not to speak of money and temper, also. This truth was in the mind of the National Tax Association when it embodied in a formal resolution its unanimous conclusion that it is high time for the Federal Government to cease the granting of new subsidies until the whole subsidy question be thoroughly investigated and understood. I believe we ought to heed the warning of these tax experts, and take some time off and get quiet and sit down and think things out, clean out, so that we shall have a solid basis for truly national and genuinely progressive action.

R. A. PEARSON, *President, Iowa State College of Agriculture, Ames, Iowa*

This morning we were discussing the subject in its broadest aspects. This afternoon we have been thinking mostly of the one bill before Congress. I have felt, as this discussion has proceeded, that we are wading into deeper water, that is more and more murky. We do not know what is ahead of us, and instead of plunging along rapidly we should proceed very slowly; and perhaps we should wait awhile before we move forward further. It was mentioned

that I have been on both sides of the fence in connection with college and governmental work. As an officer of the agricultural department, I saw college officers violate the law, and as a college officer I have suffered under petty rulings. I have sympathy for those in Washington who have to do with our appropriation measures. Many of them are big men. But, very many of our troubles are due to the fact that so many administrative details in Washington are directly in charge of men having small ability. There are now a great many difficulties which cause little irritations. It seems to me that if anyone of us were confronted by such conditions in our own business, we would say, "we will not continue expansion at an ever increasing rate but we will wait awhile and we will try to find causes for this and that particular irritation, and iron out as many as we can." We should arrive at some fundamental principles which will enable us better to cooperate. We shall always have cooperation between state and federal governments. A definition of cooperation which I like was given by Lucius Wilson. He says "Cooperation means so to conduct ourselves that other people can work with us." I heartily second this suggestion of our friend from Texas and our friend from Louisiana that we proceed slowly. I believe that Judge Towner has a great idea. I think something good for the nation will come from his bill and I hope the Judge will have the honor of leading us through. I hope that we shall all be content to go a little slower. Let us get the facts that Dr. Judd indicates are needed, and then we shall not have much trouble in deciding what is wise and right. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you and your university for making this conference possible.

*LIST OF DELEGATES AND REPRESENTATIVES OF
INSTITUTIONS AND LEARNED SOCIETIES*

- THE REV. WILLIAM HENRY AGNEW, President, St. Ignatius College of Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois
- ROBERT JUDSON ALEY, President, Butler College, Indianapolis, Indiana
- EDWARD WEST ALLEN, Chief, United States Office of Experimental Stations, Washington, D. C.
- GEORGE A. BARR, representing Governor LEN SMALL, Springfield, Illinois
- MALCOLM ALFRED BEESON, Dean, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Oklahoma
- EDWARD ASAHEL BIRGE, President, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin
- WILLIAM WADDELL BOYD, President, Western College for Women, Oxford, Ohio
- SILAS ALONZO BRALEY, University of Illinois, representing Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa
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- THEODORE CHALON BURGEE, President, Bradley Polytechnic Institute, Peoria, Illinois
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- SAMUEL PAUL CAPEN, Director of the American Council on Education, Washington, D. C.
- RUSSELL H. CHITTENDEN, Director, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
- WALTER CASTELLA COFFEY, Dean of the College of Agriculture, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minnesota
- JULIAN LOWELL COOLIDGE, Professor of Mathematics, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

- THOMAS POE COOPER, Dean, College of Agriculture, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky
- STANLEY COULTER, Dean, College of Agriculture, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana
- D. D. CRAIN, Colorado Agricultural College, Greeley, Colorado
- E. A. CROSS, Dean, Colorado State Teachers College, Greeley, Colorado
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- JAMES D. ESKRIDGE, President, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Oklahoma
- WILLIAM ESTY, Professor of Electrical Engineering, Lehigh University
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- FRANK JOHNSON GOODNOW, President, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland
- THE RT. REV. SHELDON MUNSON GRISWOLD, Suffragan Bishop of Chicago, representing Union College, Schenectady, New York
- LOUIS EDWARD HOLDEN, President, James Millikin University, Decatur, Illinois
- HARVEY DANIEL HOOVER, President, Carthage College, Carthage, Illinois
- CHARLES SUMNER HOWE, President, Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland, Ohio
- ORVIN ROE JENKS, President, Aurora College, Aurora, Illinois
- WILLIS E. JOHNSON, President, South Dakota State College, Brookings, South Dakota
- H. W. JOSSELYN, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri
- CHARLES H. JUDD, Director, School of Education, University of Chicago

- WILLIAM JASPER KERR, President, Oregon Agricultural College, Corvallis, Oregon
- LOUIS OLIVER LEHMAN, President, Eureka College, Eureka, Illinois
- HENRY BOYER LONGDEN, Acting President, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Indiana
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- WILLIAM ARTHUR MADDOX, President, Rockford College, Rockford, Illinois
- HUGH S. MAGILL, Field Secretary, National Educational Association
- E. D. MEACHAM, Professor of Mathematics, University of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City
- WILLIAM H. H. MILLER, Director, Illinois Department of Registration and Education, Springfield, Illinois.
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- HARCOURT A. MORGAN, President, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee
- FREDERICK BLACKMAR MUMFORD, Dean of the College of Agriculture, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri
- REUBEN LOVELL NYE, Dean of the College of Agriculture, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.
- THOMAS E. OLIVER, University of Illinois, representing Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.
- M. J. OTEY, Purchasing Agent, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

- R. A. PEARSON, President, Iowa State College of Agriculture,
Ames, Iowa
- CHARLES M. POOR, Lombard College, Galesburg, Illinois
- F. M. PORTER, University of Illinois, representing Ohio University
- GEORGE MILTON POTTER, President, Shurtleff College, Alton, Illinois
- THORNTON L. PRATT, representing the University of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
- EDWARD EVERETT RALL, President, North-Western College, Naperville, Illinois
- CHARLES HENRY RAMMELKAMP, President, Illinois College, Jacksonville, Illinois
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- WILLIAM G. RAYMOND, Dean, University of Iowa, Iowa City
- G. H. REAVIS, Dean, School of Education, University of Pittsburgh
- ROLLIN D. SALISBURY, Dean of the Ogden Graduate School of Science, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois
- HARVEY J. SCONCE, Illinois Agricultural Association, Sidell, Illinois
- HENRY W. SCHOTT, Chicago, representing the University of Kansas
- WALTER DILL SCOTT, President, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois
- ROBERT SIDNEY SHAW, Acting President, Michigan Agricultural College, East Lansing, Michigan
- A. M. SHELTON, President, Illinois Educational Commission
- THE RT. REV. GRANVILLE HUDSON SHERWOOD, Bishop of the Diocese of Springfield, Springfield, Illinois
- J. H. SKINNER, Dean, Purdue University
- WILLIAM E. A. SLAGHT, Professor of Psychology, Cornell College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa
- ANDREW MACNAIRN SOULE, President, Georgia State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Athens
- THOMAS STERLING, U. S. Senator from South Dakota, Vermilion, South Dakota
- WILLIAM SENECA SUTTON, Dean, College of Education, University of Texas, Austin, Texas
- GEORGE THOMAS, President, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
- JOHN MARTIN THOMAS, President, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania
- E. J. THOMPSON, North Dakota Agricultural College
- WILLIAM OXLEY THOMPSON, President, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

- HORACE M. TOWNER, Congressman, 8th Iowa District, Corning,
Iowa
- ROBERT LEE TULLIS, Dean of Law School, University of Louisiana,
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
- ARCHELAUS EWING TURNER, President, Lincoln College, Lincoln,
Illinois
- EDWARD WIGHT WASHBURN, University of Illinois, representing
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massa-
chusetts
- GORDON S. WATKINS, University of Illinois, representing Univer-
sity of Montana, Helena, Montana
- C. H. WATTS, Toledo University, Toledo, Ohio
- VIRGINIA HOYT WEAVER, University of Illinois, representing State
College of Washington, Pullman, Washington
- PHINEAS L. WINDSOR, University of Illinois, representing Univer-
sity of Texas
- PHILLIP BELL WOODWORTH, President, Rose Polytechnic Insti-
tute, Terre Haute, Indiana

THE PROGRAM

Thursday, December 1, Auditorium, 2 p. m.

DAVID KINLEY, *President of the University of Illinois, presiding*

1. The Early Effects of Congressional Appropriations for Education

EUGENE DAVENPORT, Dean of the College of Agriculture, Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station, Vice-President of the University of Illinois

2. Review of Recent Federal Legislation on Education

SAMUEL P. CAPEN, Director of the American Council on Education (Formerly Specialist in Higher Education in the United States Bureau of Education)

University Auditorium, 8 p. m.

W. L. ABBOTT, *President of the Board of Trustees
of the University of Illinois, presiding*

Organ Prelude—Pièce Héroïque *César Franck*

Director FREDERIC B. STIVEN, *University School of Music*

Invocation

The Right Reverend GRANDVILLE H. SHERWOOD, *Bishop of Springfield*

Installation of President Kinley

The Honorable WILLIAM L. ABBOTT, *President of the Board of Trustees*

Installation Address

President DAVID KINLEY, *University of Illinois*

University Hymn *Tune, Adeste Fideles*

Words by Doctor JOHN M. GREGORY, *First Regent of the University*

Greetings from Institutional and other Representatives

HONORABLE LEN SMALL, *Governor of Illinois*

HONORABLE FRANCIS G. BLAIR, *Superintendent of Public Instruction*

DOCTOR LIVINGSTON C. LORD, *President of Eastern Illinois State Teachers' College*

DOCTOR CHARLES H. RAMMELKAMP, *President of Illinois College*

MR. HARVEY J. SCONCE, *First President, Illinois Agricultural Association;*

MR. JOHN H. CAMLIN, *President of Illinois Chamber of Commerce*

DOCTOR EDMUND J. JAMES *President Emeritus*

DOCTOR EDWARD A. BIRGE, *President of the University of Wisconsin*

Benediction

BISHOP SHERWOOD

Organ Postlude—Sonata No. 11, First Movement. . . . *Rheinberg*
DIRECTOR STIVEN

Friday, December 2, Morrow Hall, 9 a. m.

K. C. BABCOCK, *Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences,
Provost of the University of Illinois, presiding*

1. Problems of Administering Federal Appropriations to State Institutions

E. W. ALLEN, *Chief of the United States Office of Experiment Stations*

2. Problems of State Universities in Administering Federal Funds

W. O. THOMPSON, *President of Ohio State University*

3. Discussion

Morrow Hall, 2 p. m.

DAVID KINLEY, *President of the University of Illinois, presiding*

1. Federal Aid to Education, Its Justification, Degree, and Method

HORACE M. TOWNER, *Congressman from the Eighth Iowa District*

2. Constitutional and Political Significance of Federal Legislation on Education

THOMAS STERLING, *United States Senator from South Dakota*

3. Discussion

